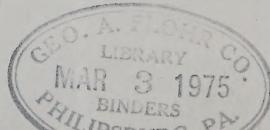
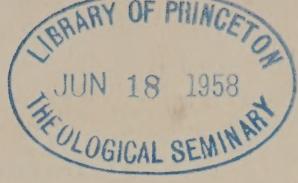




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THE PEYOTE RELIGION

A Study in Indian-White Relations

✓
J. S. SLOTKIN
The University of Chicago

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To

SOL TAX

PREFACE

The character of this work has depended upon the special circumstances under which it was undertaken, so that a statement on the matter seems appropriate.

When I finished my study on the early history of Peyotism,¹ and went away for a vacation in the summer of 1954, I thought I had completed all the research I would ever do on the subject. But on my return I found that during my absence two things had happened: I had been elected one of the Menomini delegates to the intertribal conference of the Native American Church of North America, and at that conference I had been elected an official of the Church.

I then felt obligated to continue my research on Peyotism, for the sake of both Peyotism and anthropology.

As far as the Peyotists who had elected me were concerned, I thought I owed it to them to put my anthropological training at their disposal. After some thought I suggested, and the other officers agreed, that a useful contribution would be a scientific presentation for Whites of the history and nature of Peyotism. So far no Peyotist has written extensively on his religion, and those who have written extensively have not been Peyotists. Therefore one purpose of this work is to present a documented exposition of Peyotism for Whites, from the Peyotist point of view.

As far as the anthropologists were concerned, I thought I owed it to them to make professional use of my unique position. To my knowledge, never before has a student of nativistic movements obtained a comparable place in such a group. My role as official permitted me to establish rapport, and thus to obtain data, different from that available to other scientists. Therefore I decided a useful contribution would be an historical and descriptive study of Peyotism as a nativistic movement. Previously I had made a descriptive study of Peyotism;² therefore in the present work I have concentrated on the historical approach. In this regard I have tried to make it a case study in ethnohistorical method.

My original plan was for an elaborate project, but no foundation was interested in financing it. So the plan was revised to modest proportions which could be completed within a year by one person working part time. Because of these limitations the study is exploratory rather than definitive.

A few technical details should be mentioned. Tribes have been normalized according to Murdock;³ the culture areas usually have been taken from Kroeber.⁴ The bibliography on Peyotism is as exhaustive as I could make it, but far from complete. References to works in the bibliography are given in the abbreviated form custom-

ary among American anthropologists; other references follow usual conventions.

Next it is my pleasure to acknowledge the assistance I have received in the course of the study. All the officials in the Native American Church of North America have helped; particularly gratifying has been the assistance given by the president and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Allen P. Dale; and the secretary and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Howard Williams. The anthropologists Donald Collier, Fred Eggan, Weston La Barre, Nancy Oestreich Lurie, W. C. McKern, Robert E. Ritzenthaler, and Omer C. Stewart generously supplied me with their unpublished material. Matthew J. Long located most of the documents in the National Archives; Mrs. Rella Looney, those in the Oklahoma Historical Society. Chauncy D. Harris, Dean of the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago, gave me an emergency grant to initiate the project begun so suddenly and unexpectedly; the study was completed by a grant from the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago. My wife, Elizabeth J. Slotkin, assisted in the fieldwork and writeup. Publication has been financed by Sol Tax, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago.

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I / A THEORY OF NATIONALISM

This monograph deals with the ethnohistory of Peyotism. Since all historical analyses are based upon generalizations about relevant processes, I shall try to make mine explicit at the outset. In the main, my theory is based upon the work of two sociologists: Park's race relations theory and Wirth's nationalism theory. But I have found it necessary to modify their generalizations in order to fit the comparative data which are the concern of anthropologists. Consequently, it seems appropriate to begin with a summary of the theory which will be used to analyze Indian-White relations in general and Peyotism in particular.¹

A crucial concept used in the theory is that of an ethnic group. An "ethnic group" is a population categorized as being racially and/or culturally distinct. It is so categorized by other people, by itself, or by both. Ethnic groups have their origin in social and cultural differences, and this leads us to a consideration of some phenomena resulting from the interaction between different societies and cultures.

When various societies, each with its own culture, come in contact, social and cultural interaction occur. Such interaction can vary in intensity. Minimum direct interaction takes the form of distant (i.e., rare and brief) social interaction with very few members of another society, and the diffusion of a few customs or artifacts from the latter's culture. An example is the Western explorer who visits an isolated Indian tribe in western Brazil, and leaves some steel knives which are kept and used by the Indians. Maximum direct interaction takes the form of intersocialization and acculturation. "Intersocialization" is direct and close (i.e., frequent and lengthy) social interaction between a substantial proportion of the members of different societies. "Acculturation" is diffusion of many customs resulting from direct and close social interaction between a substantial proportion of the participants in different cultures. An example is the interaction between the Massachusetts Indians and English settlers in Massachusetts during the 17th century, when they lived in adjacent or the same communities, learned each other's customs, and adopted each other's artifacts.

Intersocialization may be harmonious or opposed. There is harmony (i.e., cooperation or collaboration) when the societies depend upon one another to achieve their goals. A case in point is the harmony between Reindeer Tungus and Russian Cossacks of northwestern Manchuria, who are mutually dependent for important trade items.² There is opposition (i.e., competition or conflict) when one or both societies expect to exclude, or be excluded by, the other so-

society from the goals they are trying to achieve. This is illustrated by the opposition over Jerusalem between Moslems and Westerners during the Crusades. Particularly relevant for our study is the special case of opposition resulting from the attempt to establish a domination-subordination relation between the societies. It seems that two conditions are necessary for this kind of opposition to arise: (a) at least one of the cultures must include customs which incite to domination over other societies; (b) the society possessing this inciting trait must have the power to coerce the other societies. For instance, the early British and Americans in Hawaii, who had their usual cultural incentives for domination, did not have the power to achieve it, and opposition did not occur between them and the Hawaiians.

If the social interaction between societies is opposed, the solidarity within each of the respective societies is strengthened, and it is less likely that the members of the different societies will assimilate socially. Also, when societies are opposed, the members of each society tend to reject those customs of the other society which symbolize the differences between them, and it is less likely that the participants in the different cultures will unify culturally.

When opposition exists, it eventually leads to accommodation in order to establish a modus vivendi. This accommodation is based either upon equality or a domination-subordination relation. An example of the first kind of accommodation is the equality relation established between Moslems and Westerners after the Crusades; of the second, the domination-subordination between Whites and Natives in South Africa. In the latter case the subordinate society is usually at the mercy of the dominant one, and is coerced into submitting to whatever accommodation requirements are imposed upon it.

Social accommodation usually includes establishing secondary social interaction (i.e., distant, aloof, and impersonal) between the groups, and takes two basic forms in order to reduce opposition, permit the dominant group to achieve its goals at the expense of the subordinate group, and reinforce the domination-subordination relation. (a) Social interaction is minimized and formalized. The former includes such customs as segregation of Negroes into ghettos in the United States, and avoidance such as results from Jim Crow laws and customs. The latter is exemplified by the ceremonial etiquette between Whites and Negroes in the United States.³ (b) The activities of the groups are socially differentiated. If there is a domination-subordination relation, the dominant group takes as its prerogative the activities having high social value to it, assigning those of low social value to the subordinate group. Thus Whites have a disproportionate number of positions in occupations which have high status, while Negroes abound in those of low status, in the United States.^{3a} The subordinate group later submits to its subordinate status, as a means of accommodation to the domination-subordination relation. It develops two forms of adjustment to its sub-

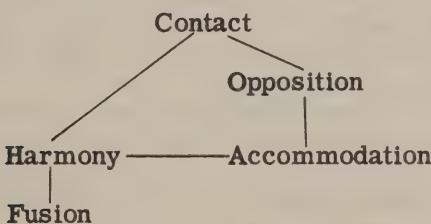
ordinate status. (a) It becomes resigned to subordination, and develops customs compatible with this status. (b) It changes the subordinate status into a dependency relation upon the dominant group.

Cultural accommodation, in the case of a domination-subordination relation, usually includes the forced dropping of those overt customs by the subordinate society which violate the mores of the dominant society, and the forced adoption of the latter's mores. For instance, Westerners usually attempt to force the inhabitants of their tropical colonies to drop nudity, polygamy, native rites, and communism, and to adopt clothing, monogamy, Christianity, and capitalism.

Accommodation facilitates further intersocialization and acculturation, and tends to result in harmony. This has occurred among the Bakitara.⁴

Harmony is the most favorable condition for intersocialization and acculturation. So harmony eventually tends to produce fusion in the form of social assimilation and cultural unification, with the result that the previously distinct societies and cultures become a single society and culture. An example is the fusion of the Germanic tribes and Western Roman Empire into Western society and culture during the 4th - 6th centuries.

Thus intersocialization and acculturation go through the following phases:



But this succession of phases is not irreversible. Characteristically, it is reversed by a subordinate group midway between the phases of accommodation and harmony. The reasons for this may be enumerated in terms of the following effects of intersocialization and acculturation:

(a) As a result of increasing intersocialization, the previously distinct societies are no longer independent, and become sub-societies within a complex society. The previously subordinate society is now a subordinate group. In this process the subordinate group becomes disorganized, for its traditional social organization is inadequate under the new conditions. A case in point is the Tewa living at Hano among the Hopi in Arizona.⁵ Social disorganization is particularly severe when the subordinate sub-society consists of many previously small simple societies, either tribal or regional in character, which are now part of a large complex society. This is because the social organization necessary for a large and com-

plex society is different from that of a small and simple society. An example is the detribalization of natives in South Africa.⁶

(b) As a result of increasing acculturation, the previously distinct cultures are no longer so different, and become sub-cultures within a heterogeneous culture. The previously subordinate culture is now a subordinate sub-culture. In this process the subordinate sub-culture becomes disorganized on two counts. First, its traditional cultural organization is inadequate under the new conditions. Second, the disorganization is aggravated by the forced culture change incident to accommodation. Here again we may refer to the Tewa of Hano as a case in point.

(c) I have said earlier that the dominant sub-society uses the domination-subordination relation in order to achieve its own goals at the expense of subordinate sub-societies, and usurps for itself those activities having high social value. In these ways the dominant group discriminates against subordinate groups. For example, in South Africa Whites employ Natives in low status occupations for which they receive small wages. Now, customary social interaction of any sort depends upon categorized social roles. Therefore insofar as the dominant group discriminates in similar ways against various subordinate groups on racial and/or cultural grounds, it categorizes these subordinate groups as belonging to the same ethnic group, even if previously these were many small societies, either tribal or regional. Again, South Africa provides a good example; all natives, irrespective of tribe, are categorized as Native and subjected to the same color-bar.

In response to such discrimination from the dominant group, the subordinate groups develop group unity and solidarity. First, solidarity within a group is a function of the degree of opposition between it and other groups; since discrimination is a form of opposition, discrimination tends to increase the solidarity of subordinate groups. Second, insofar as the subordinate groups adopt the ethnic categorizations of the dominant group, they now categorize themselves as belonging to the same ethnic group. For these reasons, then, the subordinate ethnic group develops group identity and solidarity, which are manifested in esprit de corps and morale. To continue the example of the previous paragraph, in response to White discrimination against Natives in South Africa, the natives are dropping their traditional intertribal opposition and are joining together as Natives in common opposition against the dominant Whites.

(d) Continued intersocialization and acculturation produces increasing numbers of cosmopolites and acculturated persons. A "cosmopolite" is a person who can be a member of different societies or sub-societies and participate in different cultures or subcultures. An "acculturated person" is one who has adopted exclusively the customs of a group other than the group of his origin. An illustration of a cosmopolite is a Tibetan equally at home among

his own people, Chinese, and Hindus; of an acculturated person, a White American child adopted by a visiting Chinese family who return to China and rear him there.

I have said that when a domination-subordination relation exists, social accommodation includes establishing secondary social interaction between the groups involved. In addition, in order to maintain such a relation, only minimum social mobility is permitted between the dominant and subordinate groups. Therefore when a domination-subordination relation exists between ethnic groups, cosmopolites and acculturated persons from the subordinate group who try to become members of the dominant group are rejected by it and become "marginal persons," incompletely assimilated socially and unified culturally. The significance of marginal persons to our analysis lies in the following consideration: In the accommodation phase the members of the subordinate group become resigned to, or accept, their subordinate status. But marginal persons reject the subordinate status given them. Depending upon the circumstances, they respond in various ways; one of these is an attempt to overthrow the domination-subordination relation. It is such people who are the proponents of nationalism. An excellent portrayal of this type of adjustment is found in the autobiographical writings of the Jewish nationalist Ludwig Lewisohn.⁷

So finally we come to "nationalism", an action group whose program is to have its ethnic group achieve higher status in opposition to other ethnic groups. In effect, then, nationalism represents a reversal of the phases, from a point midway between the phases of accommodation and harmony, back to the phase of opposition.

Nationalistic ethnic groups face two related problems. We have seen, under (a) and (b) immediately above, that for there to be sufficient marginality to produce an attempt at overthrowing the domination-subordination relation, intersocialization and acculturation must have progressed so far that the traditional social and cultural organization of the subordinate ethnic group have become disorganized. Consequently the problem for the group is not only to achieve high status socially and culturally, but also to reorganize its people and customs.

The subordinate ethnic group attempts to overthrow the domination-subordination relation socially by means of militant nationalism. These action groups use naturalistic means (military, political, economic, etc.), supernaturalistic means (religious or magical), or a combination of both, to further their program. Naturalistic means are illustrated by the use of non-cooperation, strikes, and boycotts in the struggle of India to achieve independence from Great Britain. An example of supernaturalistic mean is the pre-Zionist Jewish reliance upon an adherence to ritual and an expected Messiah.⁸ In addition to its function as a means of overthrowing the domination-subordination relation socially, militant nationalism is also a means of socially reorganizing the ethnic group it represents.

For a permanent action group has some sort of stable organization, informal or formal, if it is effective; and as it wins an increasing number of adherents from the disorganized ethnic group, its own organization tends to structure that of the ethnic group as a whole. This is seen, for instance, in the way that the Czech and Slovak nationalistic movements became the nucleus for the Czechoslovakian government in 1918. An important special case occurs when the subordinate ethnic group is composed of many previously small societies, either tribal or regional in character. Under such conditions, for the traditional social organization of these previously small societies, nationalism substitutes a new social organization for the large ethnic group. An example is the 19th century Pan-German nationalism, which in 1871 finally combined all the German states into the German Empire. To sum up, militant nationalism usually includes in its program attempts to reverse the inter-socialization cycle in order to produce distinct societies out of the different ethnic sub-societies.

The subordinate ethnic group attempts to overthrow the domination-subordination relation culturally by means of nativistic nationalism. In the first place, a culture is created as a symbol of the ethnic group. I say "created" because it is self-conscious and deliberate, and because acculturation has produced such a degree of culture change that it is impossible to revive the traditional culture. In addition to this changed culture pattern, some persisting traditional customs are continued, others previously discarded are revived, and innovations are adopted which seem symbolic of that ethnic group. Customs forced upon it by the dominant ethnic group during the accommodation phase are discarded, as well as other customs which seem symbolic of the dominant group. These processes continue until the ethnic group has its own cultural organization. In the second place, in order to combat the prestige given to the customs of the dominant ethnic group, the subordinate group develops a pride in its own customs, which it conceives to be equal or superior to those of the dominant group. On both counts, then, nativistic nationalism is a form of opposition to the dominant ethnic group through cultural symbols. Thus 20th century Irish nationalism emphasized Roman Catholicism, the Gaelic language, and Irish folklore, in opposition to English customs. An important special case occurs when the subordinate ethnic group contains many previous tribal or regional cultures. Under such conditions, for these previously local customs, nationalism substitutes customs common to the whole ethnic group. A 19th century example is the elevation of one local dialect into the national language of the Finns, and the manufacture of a Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*. To sum up, nativistic nationalism usually includes in its program attempts to reverse the acculturation cycle in order to produce distinct cultures out of the different ethnic sub-cultures.

I should not leave this subject without remarking that militant and nativistic nationalism have been considered separately for analy-

tic purposes. Sometimes one or the other does occur alone. Examples of this are to be found in the contemporary United States. Negro rights movements are fighting for social equality but not creating a Negro culture; Yiddishists are creating a Jewish culture but not fighting for social equality. Usually, however, the two kinds of nationalism appear in conjunction. A case in point is 20th century Irish nationalism, whose aim was to achieve both social and cultural independence.

So far we have examined nationalism in general. However, one special case deserves mention, because it has particular features which are important for our later analyses. This is the nation-state trait complex which appeared in Western culture after the French Revolution. A "state" is a government which controls the institutions applying sanctions, especially the police and army. A "nation-state" is a state controlled by a particular ethnic group. This dominant ethnic group uses the state to establish policies by which it can achieve its own goals at the expense of subordinate ethnic groups. Dominant ethnic groups in Western society tend to engage in widespread inter-socialization, so that their subordinates are composed of many previously small societies, either tribal or local in character. Under these circumstances nationalism tends to take on two features. First, a nationalistic action group has the form of a "social movement," an informally organized, permanent, action group, in which social interaction tends to be indirect or mediated. Second, if the subordinate ethnic group has adopted the nation-state complex, its nationalistic program includes an attempt to become an independent nation-state, to achieve equality within a multinational state, or to become the dominant ethnic group within an already existing nation-state. Both features are present in Indonesian nationalism, for example.

It is in terms of the theory of nationalism discussed in this chapter, that we will consider Peyotism and its background. I will attempt to show that the Peyote Religion is an Indian defense against consequences of White domination. Specifically, my thesis is that Peyotism socially is an example of accommodation rather than militancy; culturally, that it is a case of Pan-Indian nativism.

II / NINETEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND

The conditions confronting the Plains Indians at the end of the 19th century may be looked at from two points of view. One is in terms of the circumstances under which these conditions were produced by the dominant Whites; the other, in terms of how these conditions affected the subordinate Indians. Both will be considered here, successively.

A. WHITE RELATIONS WITH INDIANS

The history of relations between Whites and Plains Indians falls into the period after the former adopted the nation-state complex.¹ In Chapter I it was stated that a nation-state is controlled by a dominant ethnic group who used the state to establish policies by which it can achieve its own goals at the expense of subordinate ethnic groups. One of the traits in the nation-state complex is a policy of cultural uniformity; namely, that all inhabitants of the country are to conform to some degree to the customs of the dominant ethnic group. Consequently, the following alternatives are available to the dominant ethnic group:

1. If the absence of a subordinate ethnic group is useful to the dominant ethnic group, the former is extirpated.
 - a. If there is no place to which to transport the subordinate group, or it is categorized as so inferior as not to be worth the trouble of transportation, it is exterminated by genocide.
 - b. If there is a place to which to transport the subordinate group, and it is categorized as having enough human characteristics to be worth the trouble, it is expelled from the territory of the dominant ethnic group.
2. If the presence of a subordinate ethnic group is useful to the dominant ethnic group, or it cannot be extirpated, the former is kept.
 - a. Minimum intersocialization is achieved by segregating subordinate group so that the social interaction between the ethnic groups is symbiotic. Even in such cases of minimal interaction the subordinate group is forced to accommodate to the mores of the dominant group.
 - b. If there is substantial intersocialization, an attempt is

made to have the subordinate ethnic group adopt the culture of the dominant ethnic group in order to achieve cultural uniformity. The attempt takes two forms:

(1) The subordinate ethnic group remains relatively segregated, and attempts are made to impose the dominant culture upon it. Since customs are learned through social interaction, insofar as social isolation occurs there is cultural differentiation. Therefore attempts to impose cultural uniformity on segregated groups end in failure. Instead, the subordinate group merely accommodates to the dominant group, when interacting with it, by substituting those customs which, according to the latter, are symbols of the dominant culture, for those which are symbols of the subordinate culture.

(2) The subordinate ethnic group is dispersed. Members are detached from the subordinate group, in order to achieve social assimilation and cultural unification in respect to the dominant ethnic group.

As will be seen, at various periods all of these alternatives have been used by Whites in dealing with Indians in the United States. As far as White relations with the Plains Indians are concerned, these periods may be divided as follows:

1. Frontier period.

- a. Extensive frontier period (to ca. 1870)
- b. Vanishing frontier period (ca. 1870 - ca. 1885)

2. Post-frontier period (from ca. 1885)

1. Extensive Frontier Period

From colonial days there had been an unofficial policy of genocide.

Jefferson, during his administration, adopted the official nationalistic policy of expulsion to an Indian Country west of the Mississippi River.² With the spread of White society to the Trans-Appalachian frontier after the War of 1812, this expulsion policy was implemented by the Trans-Mississippi Removal Act of 1830³ and the Non-Intercourse Act of 1834.⁴ During this period Indian tribes beyond the frontier were independent sovereign societies.⁵ Indian-White relations were therefore symbiotic.

2. Vanishing Frontier Period

The period of the vanishing frontier began after the Civil War, when White society spread across the Plains as the last frontier in

continental United States.⁶ The unofficial policy of genocide used against Indians in other regions proved ineffective against the doughty Plains warriors.⁷ And the vanishing frontier meant that there was no free territory which could be used for expulsion.⁸ Consequently the Indian tribes became enclaved, and the government adopted a policy of segregation. This had two aspects. First, the Indian Country became a pale of settlement, which was successively decreased until it was limited to the last frontier section of the Plains itself, namely, the Indian Territory. Second, the individual tribes were restricted to reservations, the rural equivalent of the urban ghetto.⁹ Thus the Indian Territory and reservations were institutions developed by Whites for segregating, i.e., socially isolating, Indian enclaves.¹⁰

In order to minimize Indian-White conflict, a "peace policy" was instituted in 1869, at the beginning of Grant's administration. The policy included the following points by which the government tried to accommodate to Indian opposition:¹¹

(a) All tribes were segregated on reservations—by force if necessary—so as to minimize Indian-White conflict.¹²

(b) Indian revolts arising from inadequate subsistence available on reservations were minimized by providing relief in the form of government annuities ("feeding system").

(c) The tribal organization required for effective revolt was destroyed by gradually substituting direct for indirect rule, thus transforming the previously sovereign tribes into subordinate groups.¹³ (The contemporary Negro-White conflict during Southern Reconstruction made government officials fearful of producing a similar situation with the Indians if the change were too rapid.¹⁴) These were the successive steps taken:

(1) Congress attached a rider to the Indian Bureau Appropriation Act of 1871, prohibiting further Indian treaties.¹⁵ This destroyed the last vestige of tribal sovereignty,¹⁶ and was the first phase in reducing the power of Indian chiefs.¹⁷

(2) By Congressional rider, in 1877, direct distribution of annuities to individual families was substituted for the previous indirect distribution through chiefs.¹⁸ This further reduced the latter's influence.

(3) By Bureau regulation, in 1883, Courts of Indian Offenses were appointed by reservation agents to take over the judicial functions of the chiefs.¹⁹

During the early phase of the vanishing frontier period, Indian-White interaction was minimal. Therefore Whites were content to force the Indian to accommodate on a few basic points. Specifically, warfare and depredations were punished whenever possible.

During the late phase of the vanishing frontier period, Indian-

White social interaction increased. Therefore Whites tried to have their mores adopted by the Indians, by means of imposition and dispersion.²⁰ Imposition was used extensively. By Bureau regulation, for example, those rites and shamanistic practices were prohibited which either obviously reinforced the traditional culture or offered strong competition to Christianity.²¹ Also, an attempt was made to substitute White for Indian family customs by prohibiting polygyny.²² Congress, by a rider in 1885, placed Indians who had violated White mores under the jurisdiction of federal laws and courts.²³ The non-reservation boarding school was established by regulation in 1878 as an institution for detaching young Indian hostages from their tribes.²⁴ A further elaboration was the "outing system" of forced dispersion.²⁵

Since we are interested in intersocialization and acculturation between Indians and Whites, it should be realized that because of their segregation the reservation Indians did not engage in direct social interaction with many segments of White society. Their interaction was pretty much limited to the following, perhaps the most difficult segments of White society from the point of view of adjustment: officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, most of whom were petty politicians;²⁶ missionaries, rigidly sectarian and fundamentalist;²⁷ and frontiersmen, maladjusted to White society.²⁸

3. Post-Frontier Period

During the post-frontier period White were willing to substitute assimilation for segregation, for two reasons, First, land was scarce. Therefore White customs of land tenure were imposed upon Indians by means of the Allotment Act of 1887;²⁹ in this way the tribally owned reservations were broken up into individually owned allotments which became available for White lease or sale.³⁰ And the long series of Indian land cessions was virtually concluded when the Indian Territory became the state of Oklahoma in 1907.³¹ Second, Indian-White conflict was no longer a consideration because the militant Plains Indians had been decisively defeated by the U.S. Army in the preceding decade. It was obvious that allotted Indians could not compete effectively with Whites when all the rules of the economic game were those of the White culture,³² but destruction of the Indians was rationalized in terms of social Darwinism.

With the passing of the Indian Territory and reservations as institutions of segregation, Indian-White interaction increased. Consequently Whites multiplied their efforts to achieve social assimilation and cultural unification.

Imposition took many forms. In 1891 Congress, by means of a rider, declared White education compulsory for Indian children.³³ A good deal of attention was given officially and unofficially by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to symbols of cultural uniformity; Indian languages were prohibited and replaced by English,³⁴ White "citizen

dress" was substituted for blankets, White haircuts for traditional male hairdress, and houses for tipis.

As for dispersion, the Bureau became impatient of limiting the process to children in non-reservation boarding schools and outing systems. By Bureau regulation, attempts were made to destroy the entire social organization of the Indians, except for the nuclear family; the latter was to be isolated by means of the White custom of scattered farms.³⁵

The new policy of assimilation did not appreciably extend the range of Indian-White intersocialization and acculturation. It was still pretty limited to Bureau officials and missionaries, whose characteristics were the same as during the earlier period.³⁶ The only change was that frontiersmen were replaced by herders and farmers, who represented the lower class, rural, White sub-society and sub-culture. All three segments were highly ethnocentric.

B. CONDITIONS CONFRONTING THE PLAINS INDIANS

A human society adjusts to its environment (both external and internal) by means of its culture. It follows that when the environmental conditions change, the culture changes correspondingly in terms of the previous culture, if the society is to readjust. The thesis of this chapter is that during the second half of the 19th century the Plains Indians were confronted by catastrophic changes in their environment, and the history of Plains societies and cultures during that period can be viewed as responses to this situation.

From the beginning of the European invasion of what is now the United States, social interaction between Whites and Indians resulted in marked changes in the latter's environment. Geographically, their lands were taken over by the invaders, and the Indians were either restricted to a fraction of their former territories or transported to new localities with different environmental features. Biologically, the ecological balance of plants and animals upon which the Indians depended for subsistence was upset by White technology, and the Whites also brought diseases to which the Indians had little resistance. Socially, the Indians not only were confronted by a White culture very different from any known to them previously, but also subjected to forced acculturation once they were conquered by the invaders who possessed superior weapons.¹

This pattern was repeated successively in each region as the invaders spread over the country. When the Plains became the last frontier of White society, it was the turn of the Plains Indians to suffer the fate which previously had overtaken the aborigines in other regions.² The precipitating factor was White expansion after the close of the Civil War in 1865.

1. Vanishing Frontier Period

As a result of the combined efforts of the U.S. Army and civilian officials, the Plains tribes were assigned to reservations by 1870.³ The southern Plains tribes (Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa Apache) were put on reservations within the Indian Territory; because of their opposition to such transportation,⁴ it was found more expedient to establish the reservations of the northern Plains tribes in or near their traditional territories.

The Plains Indians had been nomadic hunters, with a culture pattern based upon the buffalo (i.e., bison) complex.⁵ Let us consider some of the changes which came to them with reservation life during the period of the vanishing frontier.

Perhaps most important of all was the fact that the buffalo was virtually exterminated by Whites for tactical⁶ and commercial reasons; the southern herd was gone by 1878; the northern, by 1883.⁷ Thus the basis of traditional Plains Indian life was destroyed.

In addition, the tribes lost much of their hunting ground in the process of being restricted to reservations; consequently other game was not available in sufficient quantities to compensate for the loss of the buffalo. As a matter of fact, it was the buffalo alone which was the traditional basis of subsistence,⁸ and helped the Indians to maintain some degree of independence and sovereignty;⁹ once the buffalo was gone, the Plains tribes became dependent and subordinate.¹⁰ Even under the feeding system, government relief was usually irregular and insufficient because of official incompetence, dishonesty, or both.¹¹ As a result, subsistence was inadequate.

Many tribes were transported to reservations in localities whose geographic features were markedly different from that of their traditional territories. In such cases the Indians often found it difficult to adjust to the new external environment.¹²

The extermination of the buffalo freed the grasslands. Therefore first White herders,¹³ and then White farmers,¹⁴ began to encroach upon the reservations to such an extent that the Indians began to feel overwhelmed by the invaders.¹⁵

As a result of interaction with Whites, the Indians were subjected to epidemics of communicable diseases against which they had no resistance. The resulting mortality was great.¹⁶

The Plains Indians had no traditional fermented drinks. Thus they had no experience with, nor could offer adequate resistance against, alcohol.¹⁷

The tribes had been independent and sovereign. Reservation Indians were virtually wards of the federal government,¹⁸ and as such had no constitutional rights either as citizens or aliens.¹⁹ Consequently they were subject to the unlimited control of the White agent.²⁰ Obviously such conditions provided maximum opportunities for coercion.

The Indian value system, and social status, had been based upon success in intertribal warfare.²¹ The government prohibited all

warfare. Warriors with highest status were usually killed or imprisoned. Thus the traditional value system no longer could function adequately.

The customary repository of value was the horse, and wealth was accumulated through raids. The government prohibited Indian raids, thus cutting off the chief source of obtaining wealth. The situation was aggravated by the fact that White horse thieves stole a large proportion of Indian wealth, while the government neither protected the Indians nor permitted them actively to protect themselves.

The buffalo was a component of most collective rites, including the Sun Dance. When the buffalo disappeared, these rites no longer could be performed.²² In addition, as we have seen, collective rites and shamanistic practices were prohibited. Therefore traditional collective forms of supernatural adjustment no longer could be used effectively.²³

Collective rites were also used for purposes of art and recreation. When these rites were not performed, most opportunities for esthetic adjustment disappeared.

Traditionally the social organization of the Plains was based primarily upon kinship and interest groups.²⁴ Under reservation conditions the latter disintegrated because their collective activities were no longer performed. Therefore an important component of social organization was destroyed.

When the chiefs were divested of their previous influence, tribal political organization was destroyed.²⁵

The Plains Indians had been nomadic and given to visiting freely over long distances.²⁶ They were now confined to reservations, and a pass system instituted by Bureau regulation.²⁷

2. Post-Frontier Period

The economic adjustment of the Indians was based upon collective ownership of most forms of property,²⁸ including land.²⁹ Through allotment an attempt was made to force the Indians from their traditional collectivism to the late 19th century variant of White individualistic capitalism.

As a result of allotment³⁰ the Indians had to compete with the influx of Whites on the latter's terms. It was obvious to both Indians and Whites that this could not be done successfully because of cultural differences. Consequently the former felt overwhelmed and in despair.³¹

The Indians had been nomadic hunters. They were forced to become sedentary agriculturalists³²—when most of their reservation lands were unsuitable for farming.³³

The social organization of the Plains was based primarily upon kinship and interest groups. The latter had disintegrated during the period of the vanishing frontier for reasons given above; now the

White policy of dispersion included destroying the entire kinship group except for the nuclear family. Thus the social organization was being undermined.

Indian culture included the simultaneous acceptance of a repertory of religious alternatives;³⁴ White culture, the acceptance of a single and exclusive alternative. The Indians became confused by opposition between missionaries of different denominations who tried to get the Indians to adopt exclusively their respective variants of a sectarian and fundamentalist Christianity.³⁵ Another source of confusion was the contradiction between what Whites preached and practiced.³⁶

After the disappearance of the buffalo the Indians retained some ceremonial aspects of the buffalo hunt by substituting annuity cattle;³⁷ later this was prohibited by Bureau regulation on grounds of barbarism.³⁸

This list could be extended indefinitely, but enough has been presented to give an idea of some reasons why Plains Indians were maladjusted to reservation life during the vanishing frontier and post-frontier periods.³⁹

For the tribes, the traditional culture became inadequate and disorganized. (a) If a society adjusts to its environment by means of its culture, adjustment requires that the culture provides adequate responses to the environment. But the external and internal environmental changes confronting the Plains Indians were so catastrophic that many of their customs could not cope with them. Other traditional customs were prohibited because they violated White mores; often these were not replaced by new customs which would provide substitute means of adjustment.⁴⁰ On both counts, the traditional culture was no longer adequate. (b) If a society adjusts by means of its culture, and culture is a complex of interacting customs, effective responses require that the customs be relatively compatible; for insofar as they are incompatible, different customary responses block each other. Therefore the customs adopted in voluntary diffusion tend to be relatively compatible with the rest of the culture; but forced diffusion often results in the adoption of incompatible customs. Now, the Indians were coerced into adopting White mores which were incompatible with the Plains culture pattern. Therefore the tribal cultures became disorganized.

Because of cultural inadequacy and disorganization the usual symptoms of social maladjustment appeared: preoccupation with the problem situation, questioning of custom, social unrest, increased nonconformity, breakdown of social controls, social disorganization, and personality maladjustment.

Personality maladjustment was correlated with sex and age. (a) It was the men who were most maladjusted, since their roles involved the hunting, warfare, and religious customs most affected by White influence. The women's roles were relatively unaffected; they could pursue their traditional customs with little interference from

Whites.⁴¹ (b) The environmental change is called catastrophic because it was both rapid and extensive. It all occurred within two decades, which is less than a single generation. Therefore the age of a man affected his degree of maladjustment. Though his culture was now inadequate and disorganized, an old man could at least live in memories of the traditionally organized and adequate life he had led in pre-reservation days. A young man, however, no longer could find customary life goals and careers available to him around which he could organize his life; as a result his personality was disorganized.⁴²

Increased intersocialization and acculturation produced a significant rise in the number of young people, both male and female, maladjusted because of marginality. Marginality became important for two reasons. First, increasing intersocialization resulted in much amalgamation; thus there were many "halfbreeds" familiar with White as well as Indian culture. Second, as a result of the policy of dispersion there were many young people who had attended non-reservation boarding schools where they had become acquainted with White culture; some, indeed, became acculturated persons.⁴³ Now, these marginal people did not conform fully to the culture of either ethnic group, thus presenting problems to both Indians⁴⁴ and Whites,⁴⁵ as well as to themselves.⁴⁶

C. ATTEMPTS AT READJUSTMENT BY PLAINS INDIANS

We have seen that the Whites finally succeeded in establishing a domination-subordination relation between themselves and the Plains Indians, and Section A of this chapter has summarized the varying responses of the Whites to the series of different situations. Now let us turn to the varying responses of the Indians to the series of different crisis situations discussed in the previous section.

1. Vanishing Frontier Period

After contact between White invaders and Plains Indians, conflict developed as the latter tried to defend themselves and their possessions from White aggression.¹

Though accommodation between the Whites and Indians was officially instituted by the Peace Policy of 1869, some of the more militant Indians continued the conflict. The last major warfare in the southern Plains was by a confederation² of militant Kiowa, Comanche, and Southern Cheyenne, August 1874 to February 1875; in the northern Plains, by a confederation of militant Teton and Northern Cheyenne, February 1876 to June 1877. In both wars the Indians were decisively defeated by the U.S. Army; afterwards militant Plains Indians were limited to sporadic guerrilla warfare, finally suppressed in 1881.³

The Indians also used supernatural means to oppose Whites and to restore their environment to its pre-White condition. Some of these were tribal and localized. There is documentation for a new religion among the Comanche in 1873,⁴ and another among the Kiowa in 1882.⁵

During the accommodation phase the Indians substituted politics for warfare in naturalistic attempts to improve their position relative to Whites.⁶ As far as I can determine, in this area the Indians adopted exclusively White customs and invented none of their own. Their representatives tried to win favorable treaties and agreements from government officials.⁷ They sent tribal and intertribal petitions and delegations to Washington,⁸ hired lawyers, and asked White pro-Indian individuals and organizations⁹ to intercede on their behalf. The treaties of 1866 with the Five Civilized Tribes (which really established the Indian Territory), included a provision for an annual intertribal council of Indians within the Territory.¹⁰ Though ignored by anthropologists, this General Council was an important influence in the development of Pan-Indian nationalism.¹¹

2. Post-Frontier Period

During the post-frontier period there was no real attempt at revolt. The nearest thing to it was the Sioux Disturbance of November 1890 to January 1891 among the Teton; this was crushed with such ferocity by the U.S. Army that afterwards no Plains tribe dared rebel, and the Indians became resigned and demoralized.¹²

The Indians' main naturalistic reliance was upon the political means already described. But particularly when allotment was taking place, they despaired of finding effective political institutions to protect them from White encroachment.

Finding naturalistic forms of readjustment inadequate, the Plains Indians turned increasingly to new religions. Some of these were tribal and localized, such as the "Sons of the Sun" among the Kiowa in 1887.¹³

Intertribal religious movements also appeared during the vanishing frontier and post-frontier periods. They will be considered in the next section.

D. RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE PLAINS

A profusion of syncretistic religions appeared in the Plains during the second half of the 19th century, including both the many tribal and localized religions mentioned in the previous section, and four Pan-Indian social movements to be considered here. The whole situation reminds me of the profusion of syncretistic mystery religions which appeared in the Mediterranean area about the 1st century A.D.

Two of these religious movements appeared during the vanishing frontier period, the Grass Dance and the Hand Game. The Grass Dance was probably invented in the northern Plains on the basis of the central Plains iruska.¹ The Hand Game was invented on the basis of the traditional secular hand game distributed throughout the Plains.²

Two more movements appeared during the post-frontier period, the Peyote Religion and the Ghost Dance. The Peyote Religion was probably invented in the southern Plains on the basis of the old Peyote complex diffused from the Gulf and Southwest.³ The Ghost Dance, invented in the Basin on the basis of the Prophet Dance of the Basin and Plateau,⁴ diffused into the Plains by way of the northern Plains tribes.⁵ Because it was involved in the Sioux Disturbance of 1890-91, it received a good deal of attention and is the best known of these movements. It was invented in 1889 by a Paviotso, Wovoka ("Cutter") or Jack Wilson (ca. 1856-1932), then living near the Walker River Reservation, Nevada.

All four movements had many common features.

- (a) They were means of readjusting the Indians to the catastrophically new environmental conditions, by rites compatible with the traditional Plains culture pattern.
- (b) They included some supernatural means for restoring both the external and internal environments to approximately pre-White conditions.
- (c) They attempted to overcome existing social disorganization by means of a collective rite which emphasized social solidarity. An innovation found in all these movements is that intertribal solidarity is substituted for the traditional intratribal solidarity.
- (d) Traditionally, success in life depended upon acquiring supernatural power by means of individual visions, usually induced physiologically by subjecting the body to stress. The new religions substituted less arduous and collective means of acquiring power.
- (e) They included a revival of estheticism, in regard to both play and art.
- (f) They included an ethics by which the individual could reorganize his disorganized personality. To the traditional Indian life goals of long life, health, and grandchildren, were added the White influenced goals of peacefulness, brotherly love, and self-support. These goals were to be achieved by a career which included both performance of the given ritual and abstinence from alcohol.
- (g) They provided some ritual cure for contagious White diseases, especially tuberculosis.

All four religions were Pan-Indian social movements; i.e., they were intertribal and widespread, rather than tribal and localized.

The reasons for this are simple to understand. In the first place, as we have seen in Chapter I, since the dominant Whites categorized all natives, irrespective of tribe, as Indian and subjected them to the same discrimination, the subordinate Indians developed an ethnic group identity and solidarity. Socially the movements included in their ethics the beliefs that all tribes should be at peace and that participants from different tribes should treat each other as brothers; concomitantly, intertribal visiting was a feature at all the rites.⁶ Culturally, the religions were conceived as belonging to all Indians; the paraphernalia and ceremonial details diffused with the movements themselves and are recognized by anthropologists as relatively stable trait complexes. In the second place, insofar as the Plains tribes followed the same culture pattern and found themselves confronted by similar reservation problem situations, they were similarly maladjusted. And innovations, either invented or diffused, which were compatible with the traditional culture of any tribe from that culture area were probably also compatible with the cultures of other tribes from that same area. Besides, the obvious inadequacy of traditional tribal cultures, plus increased nonconformity and breakdown in social controls, meant that it was difficult to maintain traditional tribal customs. Now, all these are preconditions for extensive diffusion. In addition, diffusion was facilitated by the following factors:

- (a) The cessation of intertribal warfare.⁷
- (b) The development of intertribal councils, particularly in Indian Territory.
- (c) The juxtaposition of reservations, especially in Indian Territory.
- (d) The collection of young people from various tribes in non-reservation boarding schools.⁸
- (e) The ease of travel on highways and railroads constructed by Whites.⁹
- (f) The substitution of English for sign language as an intertribal means of communication.
- (g) The use of White communication media, especially the mails, by literate young Indians.

All four religions were nativistic to some extent.

The nativism of the Grass Dance and Hand Game was rudimentary, being primarily a consequence of employing traditional modes of response. Thus the former continued the use of persisting traditional paraphernalia and ceremonial details; the latter revived a virtually discarded complex.¹⁰ Even in this early period, however, syncretism occurred. Examples are the Grass Dance use of the sword and American flag, diffused from the U.S. Army; and the Hand Game belief in Jesus, diffused from White missionaries.

The nativism of the Peyote Religion and Ghost Dance was highly developed. For with the rise of Pan-Indian nationalism during the post-frontier period, the Indians developed a pride in their own culture, which they believed equal or superior to that of the Whites.¹¹

If all four religious movements were so similar, the question arises, Why has one of them—the Peyote Religion—increased in importance, while the other three alternatives have either disappeared or dwindled in significance? This is particularly striking since, in conformity with tradition, many people participated in two or more of them simultaneously.¹²

The Grass Dance and Hand Game were developed during the vanishing frontier period. Therefore, though they may have provided adequate adjustment at the time of their development, they, no more than the rest of the culture, could cope with the radically new conditions of intersocialization and acculturation arising in the post-frontier period. As a result, whatever religious importance these movements have today is among the most isolated and conservative reservation Indians—a segment of the population which is constantly dwindling in number.

The Peyote Religion and Ghost Dance were developed during the late vanishing frontier or post-frontier period. Both were nationalistic and appealed to marginal Indians.¹³ They may be looked upon as the two major alternatives of the time—the 19th century Plains equivalents of the 1st century Mediterranean Jesus and Mithra Cults respectively. Why then did the Peyote Religion win out over the Ghost Dance?

The Ghost Dance was not only nativistic but also militant, providing a supernatural means for overthrowing the domination-subordination relation between Whites and Indians. Its central doctrine was the imminent renovation of the world (including the destruction of White society and culture) as a solution for the problems confronting the Indians. The Ghost Dance succumbed to three circumstances. First, the anticipated world renovation did not take place. And there was no reinterpretation of the doctrine to make it viable, such as occurred after Jesus was executed without the Kingdom of God he proclaimed having taken place. It was then that the Jewish Apostles in Jerusalem transformed Jesus from a prophet into the long awaited messiah of Israel, and began the Jesus Cult. Second, the Ghost Dance was involved in the Sioux Disturbance of 1890-91; therefore the rite was prohibited by White officials in order to maintain the domination-subordination relation between Whites and Indians. Third, after the Sioux Disturbance was ferociously suppressed by the U.S. Army, the Indians became resigned to subordination; consequently they required a program of accommodation rather than the Ghost Dance program of opposition.

The Peyote Religion was nativistic but not militant. Culturally, it permitted the Indians to achieve a cultural organization in which they took pride. Socially, it provided a supernatural means of accommodation to the existing domination-subordination relation.

To sum up, then, it is my hypothesis that the Peyote Religion's program of accommodation, as opposed to the Ghost Dance's program of opposition, was the basic reason for the former's success and the latter's failure.

III / THE KIOWA PEYOTE RELIGION, 1891-1896

The subsequent analysis will assume some knowledge of the Peyote Religion. Therefore I am interrupting the continuity of the exposition at this point to describe the Religion. In order to combine a brief sketch with the historical purposes of this study, the present chapter quotes extensively from the accounts of Mooney, the first anthropologist to make a scientific investigation of the subject during fieldwork among the Kowa from 1891 to 1896.¹

One of the most interesting and impressive religious ceremonies of the Kiowa Indians of Oklahoma is that in connection with the eating of the peyote or mescal plant.² The ceremony usually takes place every Saturday night in the various camps, whenever a sufficient quantity of the plant can be procured.

The Peyote (Lophophora [williamsii]) is a small turnip-shaped species of cactus [see Plate 1] which grows in the desert region along both sides of the Rio Grande. It possesses tonic and stimulant properties, and produces an especially wonderful mental effect . . . The dried top, commonly known as the mescal [or Peyote] button, is the part eaten, and the quantity varies according to the individual, 8 or 10 being considered the minimum (Mooney 1897c: 329).

The following is a summary of the Kiowa origin myth of the Peyote Religion, in the version collected by Mooney:

According to the story, two young men [tribe and date unspecified] had gone upon a war expedition to the far south. They did not return at the expected time, and after long waiting their sister, according to Indian custom, retired alone to the hills to bewail their death. Worn out with grief and weeping, as night came on she was unable to get back to the camp and lay down where she was. In her dreams the peyote spirit came to her and said: "You wail for your brothers, but they still live. In the morning look, and where your head now rests, you will find that which will restore them to you." The spirit then gave her further instruction and was gone. With daylight she arose, and on looking where she had slept found peyote, which she dug up and took back with her to camp. Here she summoned the priests of the tribe, to whom she told her vision and delivered the instructions which she had received from the spirit. Under her direction the sacred tipi was set up with its crescent mound, and the old men entered and said the prayers and sang the songs and ate the peyote—which seems to have been miraculously multi-

plied—until daylight, when they saw in their visions a picture of the two young warriors, wandering on foot and hungry in the far off passes of the Sierra Madre [Occidental or Oriental? In Mexico]. A strong party was organized to penetrate the enemy's country, and after many days the young men were found and restored to their people. Since then the peyote is eaten by the Indians with song and prayer that they may see visions and know inspiration, and the young girl who first gave it is venerated as the "Peyote woman" (Mooney 1897a: 330).

Mooney's papers contain little on Peyotist doctrine besides what is given in this myth. Evidently the Kiowa regarded Peyote as the plant incarnation of the Sun God. Therefore, by eating the sacramental Peyote under the proper ritual conditions, a communicant incorporated some of the god's power.

The greatest of the Kiowa gods is the sun . . . while the peyote [button], with its circular disk and its bright center, surrounded by white spots or rays, is its vegetal representative (Mooney 1898: 327).

Briefly stated, it may be said that the Indians regard the mescal as a panacea in medicine, a source of inspiration, and the key which opens to them all the glories of another world (Mooney 1896a: 7-8).

Around Peyote developed a religion. It is a trait complex consisting of voluntary association whose rite is one of singing, prayer and quiet contemplation, centered on Peyote both as a symbol of the spirits being worshipped and as a sacrament.

Mooney published a few brief descriptions of the Peyote rite among the Kiowa. The following is the most complete:

The ceremony begins about 9 o'clock at night;^a after the devotees have spent an hour or so painting and decorating themselves,^b for every one must wear his finest paint, feathers and buckskin dress on this occasion.^c No women are admitted,

- a. "Saturday night is now the time usually selected, in deference to the white man's idea of Sunday as a sacred day and a day of rest."—Mooney 1896a: 7.
- b. "'There is no preliminary preparation, such as by fasting or the sweat-bath, and supper is eaten as usual before going in'"—Mooney 1896a: 8.
- c. ". . . many of the mescal eaters wear crucifixes, which they regard as sacred emblems of the rite, the cross representing the cross of scented leaves upon which the consecrated mescal [i.e., Peyote Chief] rests during the ceremony, while the Christ is the mescal goddess [i.e., Peyote Woman], the presiding goddess of the ceremony."—Mooney 1892b: 65.

except for special reasons, and then they are only allowed to eat one or two peyotes prepared for them by one of the leaders but are not permitted to take an active part in the proceedings. A tipi has been erected for the ceremony in the afternoon (Plate 3), with a shallow fire-hole in the center, around which is built a low crescent shaped mound, with the horns pointing to the doorway at the east.^d Around the sides of the tipi are laid bunches of fragrant wild sage for the worshipers to sit upon. Just inside the doorway is a pile of broken sticks for the fire.

When all is ready the fire tender enters and lights the fire in the fire hole, piling the sticks in V shape, with the opening toward the east and the rising sun. The others then approach, led by the priest, and making a complete circuit around the tipi, enter at the east^e and take their places one after another until the circle is filled, sitting crosslegged upon a blanket spread over the wild sage. The chief priest sits at the west, directly opposite the door, while the fire tender sits at the right of the door with the pile of sticks beside him.

The chief priest opens the ceremony with a prayer, after which he hands to each man four peyotes from a bag beside him. Each man takes his share, and selecting one first picks out the tuft of down from the center of the peyote and then chews up the button with a crunching sound until it is reduced to a paste. Now taking it out upon his hand he rolls it into a ball about the size of an ordinary marble. Holding it in his open right hand he passes this three times through the blaze of the fire, and then, with a fourth similar motion, swallows it whole, rubbing his throat and breast to assist its passage. Each one eats the first four thus as rapidly as possible, after which the chief priest takes a gourd rattle while the man on his left takes a small drum, and together they sing the opening song, which, like all the songs of the ceremony is repeated four times over. These songs have a peculiar lullaby effect, which intensifies the dreamy condition produced by the drug, at times rising into a note of wild triumph and then again sinking into wailing sadness. The peyote itself has an extremely bitter and nauseating taste and usually produces vomiting in those unaccustomed to it. Like strong liquor, it is used, not for the taste, but for the effect.

- d. "The other now produced a package of mescals and selecting the largest one deposited it carefully upon the top of the mound upon a bed of fragrant herbs arranged in the form of a cross."—Mooney 1892a.
- e. "A Kiowa came to announce that the ceremony was about to begin in the sacred lodge, and warned us that before entering we must remove our hats."—Mooney 1892a.

After the first song the drum and rattle are past to the next two men on the left of the chief priest, who sing four other songs, and so it goes round and round the circle until midnight. Until their turn comes to take up the song the devotees sit quietly with blankets drawn up over the head, with eyes closed or looking into the fire, occasionally holding out their hands in prayer toward a sacred peyote placed in the center of the crescent mound.^f As the fire burns down it is replenished by the fire tender, who carefully piles up the sticks as already described and gathers the ashes into a white crescent mound just within the higher mound of earth.

At midnight there is a pause.^g At a signal from the chief priest the fire tender rises and goes out from the tipi, taking a bucket which he fills with water from the nearest spring. Returning through the darkness, he stands outside at each of the four cardinal points in turn and at each blows four times upon an eaglebone whistle in imitation of the scream of the eagle. On hearing this whistle from the outside the chief priest and his assistant again take the drum and rattle and sing the "Midnight Song", four times repeated. The fire tender then enters with the water, which he passes to the chief priest, who places it between himself and the crescent mound upon which is the sacred peyote.

Now raising up the eagle-bone whistle the priest blows four times upon it, after which he draws it twice through the water at right angles, making a cross. Then taking a fan made of eagle feathers, he dips it into the water and sprinkles the drops as in baptism upon the worshipers around the circle.

At this point prayers are said for any sick woman or child who may be in camp, and for whom prayers have been requested. A sick woman usually enters with her husband or brother at the beginning and sits beside him to the close. A sick infant is handed in by the mother and taken in the arms of the father, who passes it out again to the mother after the blessing.

The sick child is handed over by its father to the priest. Holding it high in his arms he imitates the cry of the eagle, after which he passes the infant rapidly four times above the blaze

f. "The neophyte is constantly exhorted not to allow his eyes to wander, but to keep them fixed upon the sacred mescal in the centre of the circle."—Mooney 1896a: 11.

g. "Up to this hour no one has moved from his position, sitting cross-legged upon the ground and with no support for his back, but now any one is at liberty to go out and walk about for a while and return again. Few, however, do this, as it is considered a sign of weakness."—Mooney 1896a: 8.

of the fire, taking care not to hold it too near the blaze. Then taking it upon his lap, with the fan he sprinkles it with the sacred water, and makes a fervent prayer for its recovery or growth, after which the child is handed back to its father to be put to bed.

A sick woman sits beside her husband, near the doorway, and is allowed to eat one or more peyotes which have been consecrated by the priest with prayers in her behalf. Her husband makes request for these prayers by lighting a cigarette at the fire, and, after taking a puff himself, handing it to the one whose prayers he desires.^h This one takes it, and after a preliminary puff, begins a prayer, taking a puff at each paragraph until the cigarette is consumed to a stump, which he throws into the fire. The woman remains until the close of the ceremony next morning, but is allowed to lie down or even sleep if too weak to sit up so long.

After the midnight baptismal ceremony the water is passed around and each one takes a drink. Each man then calls for as many more peyotes as he desires to eat, and the songs are resumed, increasing in weird power as the effect of the drug deepens. So it goes on until daylight begins to glimmer through the canvas, and sounds outside tell, that the camp is awaking.

As the first clear beam of light shines from the east the rattle and drum, wherever in the circle they may be, are passed again to the chief priest and his assistant, who together sing the wonderful Wakaho song, that rouses every dreamer to instant alertness like the sound of a triumphal march. At its close there is a pause and the women, who have been waiting outside for this signal, hand in the four vessels of sacred food-water, parched corn, hashed and sweetened beef, and stewed fruit (Plate 5). These are placed in a line between the fire and the doorway.

Still the song goes round until the sun is well up in the heavens, about 9 or 10 o'clock or even later, when the priest and his assistant again take the drum and rattle and sing four times the final song, the Gayatina. As the last echo dies away the buckskin head is taken from the drum. The drum kettle, rattle, rattle stick, and fan are then past from hand to hand around the whole circle to the firekeeper, who puts them outside the tipi, each man in turn taking a sip of the water in the bottom of the kettle, tapping a few times on the sides of the kettle with the drumstick and shaking the rattle once or twice, before handing it to the next.

h. "Every one smokes handmade cigarettes, the smoke being regarded as a sacred incense."—Mooney 1896a: 8.

As soon as the instruments are outside the religious ceremony is over, and the company assumes an air of goodnatured jollity as the water, corn, meat and fruit are sent around the circle, one at a time. Each man in turn helps himself, first offering a small libation to the earth or fire. When the last morsel is consumed they file out of the tipi, which is then quickly taken down by the women, while the recent worshipers sit about to gossip or sing their new songs until their wives announce that dinner is ready, when the whole company partakes of the best feast the host can provide before dispersing [to] their homes.ⁱ

Finally, something should be given on the medical uses of Peyote.

... the mescal is reverenced . . . as a health bringing panacea for all bodily ills (Mooney 1892a).

They consider it particularly effective in hemorrhage and consumptive diseases . . .

The Indians frequently use the mescal in decoction, without any ritual, for fevers, headaches, and breast pains . . . I have also seen an Indian eat one between meals as a sort of tonic appetizer (Mooney 1896a: 8-9).

The Peyote Religion was already nativistic.

[At the beginning of the rite the leader] delivered an earnest address . . . [including] a special word to me to the effect that they had permitted me to be present that I might note everything, so that on my return I could tell the government and the white men that it was all good and not bad, and that it was the religion of the Indians in which they believed, and which was as dear to them as ours is to us . . .

With a final prayer and another request from the old man that I should go back and tell the whites that the Indians had a religion of their own which they loved, the ceremony ended (Mooney 1892a).

- i. "The dinner, which is given an hour or two after the ceremony, is always as elaborate a feast as the host can provide. The rest of the day is spent in gossiping, smoking, and singing the new songs, until it is time to return home. They go to bed at the usual time, and are generally up at the usual time the next morning. No salt is used in the food until the day after the ceremony."—Mooney 1896a: 8.

IV / PEYOTISM IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The ritual use of Peyote is called Peyotism—a name given it by Curtis (Curtis 1930: 201). There are two major forms of Peyotism: (a) what I have termed the "old Peyote complex" (Slotkin 1955: 210); (b) what Kroeber called the "Peyote Cult" (Kroeber 1907: 398), and adherents call the "Peyote Religion" or "Peyote Way" in English.

The old Peyote complex is the earlier form of Peyotism. In it, Peyote is used by individuals primarily as a medicine and to obtain visions for purposes of supernatural revelation. When used by a group, it is an element in tribal dancing rites, the Peyote evidently being used to induce a trance state during the dance. Before 1850, according to the documents known to me, the old Peyote complex was the only form of Peyotism. It occurred in Mexico and the following culture areas existing north of the Rio Grande: Southwest, Gulf, and Red River (Slotkin 1955).

During the second half of the 19th century Peyotism diffused to the southern Plains (Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa Apache) (Hall 1886: 130). As we shall see, the form of Peyotism adopted is debatable.

In 1891, while at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency in Oklahoma, Mooney discovered the Peyote Religion (Mooney 1892a). To repeat, this form of Peyotism consists of a voluntary association whose rite is one of singing, prayer and quiet contemplation, centered on Peyote both as a symbol of the spirits being worshipped and as a sacrament. It is quite distinct from the older form of collective Peyotism which consists of tribal participation in a dancing rite with Peyote as a mere component. There are significant differences between the two both in form (Mooney 1910. Stewart 1948: 19-30) and function (Petrullo 1940). The question then arises, When and where was the Peyote Religion invented?

A. PLACE AND DATE OF ORIGIN OF THE PEYOTE RELIGION

When we consider the possible places of origin of the Peyote Religion, three alternatives present themselves: (a) Mexico, (b) one of the culture area existing north of the Rio Grande that had the old Peyote complex, and (c) the southern Plains. Which of these is the most probable alternative?

One way of attacking the problem is to see where the Peyote Re-

ligion has been found. Two approaches are possible here, the historic and contemporary. The historic approach assumes that if the religion ever existed in a tribe or area, it would have been observed by, or reported to, someone literate, that person would have written it down, and we would have found his manuscript or printed document. The contemporary approach assumes that if the religion ever existed in a tribe or area, the whole complex or some recognizable part of it would still persist. It is evident that both approaches make very large assumptions indeed. But let us see the results of attacking the problem of origin in this way.

If the Peyote Religion had been invented in Mexico, some documents about it would be known, or the whole complex or some recognizable part of it would have persisted. Since the old Peyote complex alone has been found south of the Rio Grande (Slotkin 1955), it is improbable that the Peyote Religion was invented in Mexico.

Next we turn to the possibility that the Peyote Religion was invented in one of the culture areas existing north of the Rio Grande that had the old Peyote complex, and with which the southern Plains tribes engaged in social interaction. They are the following:

(a) Gulf (Atakapa, Coahuilteco, Karankawa, Tamaulipeco, and Tonkawa). There is one ambiguous statement on the Tonkawa which does not give the form of Peyotism involved (Wood 1890: 194). Other sources for this area seem to refer to the old Peyote complex (Gatschet.¹ Coulter 1894: 131. Lumholtz 1902: I 358).

(b) Red River (Caddo, Quapaw, and Wichita). The earliest 19th century sources known to me all postdate 1891, and therefore are not helpful (Mooney 1896b: 904. 1915: 71).

(c) Southwest (including Northern Sierra Madre: Tarahumara. Sonora: Opata, Papago, and Pima. Apache tribes: Chiricahua, Coyotero, Jicarilla, Lipan, and Mescalero). One statement on the area in general is ambiguous (Bandelier 1890: I 88n). The Tarahumara have the old Peyote complex.² The Papago and Pima evidence is ambiguous (Young 1895: 122. Hrdlicka 1908: 173, 244). As for the Apache tribes, there is more evidence, but none of it satisfactory. The old Peyote complex is fairly well documented for the Chiricahua (?), ca. 1875 (Jones 1899: 95); and the Lipan (?), by 1885 (Havard 1885: 521. 1896: 38. Coulter 1891: 129). Mooney's report that the Mescalero were considered authorities on Peyotism (Mooney 1897: 330. 1900: xvi) would carry weight but for the fact that he is ambiguous about the form of Peyotism involved.³ This leaves us with a single piece of substantial historical evidence, namely, the account, based upon Martinez, of a religion-like rite among the Mescalero, ca. 1867.⁴

At present the Peyote Religion occurs in the Southwest, and in tribes originally from the Gulf and Red River. But no one has demonstrated that the contemporary Religion in any of these areas has persisted from the 19th century. On the contrary, the consensus of opinion is that in these areas the modern Peyote Religion probably

is a secondary diffusion from the Plains. To sum up, then, the best we can do in regard to the areas that had the old Peyote complex is to state that on the basis of Martinez a precursor of the religious rite, or the religious rite itself, existed among the Mescalero about 1867.

Finally we have to consider the possibility that the Peyote Religion was invented in the southern Plains. This would be demonstrated if we could show, within the area, a complete developmental sequence from either the old Peyote complex or some intermediate form, to the Peyote Religion as discovered by Mooney in 1891. But here too we are plagued by unsatisfactory evidence, for the pre-Mooney documents on southern Plains Peyotism are ambiguous about the form of Peyotism being referred to.⁵ From the most important early document known to me (Clark 1888), we may infer that the Comanche had an all-night rite about 1884;⁶ whether this was an intermediate form of the rite, or the Peyote Religion itself, is unknown. In any case, we are confronted by the following difficulties: (a) If a Mescalero or cognate form of Religion-like rite diffused to the southern Plains, then the latter would have begun with it and not the old Peyote complex. This conflicts with Plains sources which seem to imply the old Peyote complex. (b) If we infer that the earliest Plains documents refer to the old Peyote complex, this hardly leaves enough time for the development of the highly elaborated Peyote Religion as discovered in 1891. (c) If we may put trust in the remote recall of informants, there are late statements to the effect that the Comanche had an unspecified form of Peyotism about 1860,^{6a} and the Peyote Religion about 1885;⁷ also, that the Kiowa adopted the religion about 1885⁸ or 1887.⁹ Then all the southern Plains documents except Clark are either irrelevant, because too late in the case of the Comanche, or hopelessly ambiguous in the case of the Kiowa. To sum up, the foregoing documentary evidence does not permit us to decide whether a precursor of the religious rite, a Religion-like rite, or the whole Peyote Religion, either diffused into, or was invented in, the southern Plains.

The results of the first way of attacking the problem of the Peyote Religion's origin, then, are very meagre. Peyotism seems to have diffused into the southern Plains during the second half of the 19th century from various sources, and there is a high probability that these included both Gulf and Southwestern tribes. But the crucial question is whether the diffused Peyotism was in the form of the old Peyote complex, an intermediate form, or the Peyote Religion; and this remains unanswered.

A second way of attacking the problem is by means of oral tradition, which is both profuse and contradictory. The following are 20th century traditions reported for the Apache tribes of the Southwest:

1. The Coyotero invented the Peyote Religion (Curtis 1930:200), presumably in 1902 (Curtis 1907: 42, 1930:202).

2. The Jicarilla adopted the Peyote Religion from the Coyotero at an unspecified date (Curtis 1930: 199).
3. The Coahuilteco (specifically, the Carrizo) invented the religious rite at an unspecified date (Opler 1938: 272. 1940: 277n).
4. The Tonkawa adopted the religious rite from the Coahuilteco at an unspecified date (Opler 1938: 273. 1940: 277n).
5. The Lipan adopted the religious rite from the Coahuilteco at an unspecified date (Opler 1938: 272-73).
6. The Lipan adopted the religious rite from the Tonkawa at an unspecified date (Opler 1940: 277n).
7. The Lipan invented the religious rite at an unspecified date (Opler 1945).
8. The Mescalero adopted the religious rite from the Tonkawa, Lipan, or "Yaqui" (Opler 1936: 148. 1938: 273. 1945), ca. 1870 (Opler 1936: 273n).
9. The Mescalero taught the religious rite to the Kiowa Apache at an unspecified date (Opler 1938: 273n).

The Indians in Oklahoma provide the following assortment of traditions:

1. The Comanche adopted an unspecified form of Peyotism from the Lipan post 1858 (Clark 1888).¹⁰
2. The Kiowa adopted Peyote from Whites at an unspecified date (Burdett 1895: 48).
3. An unspecified tribe invented the Peyote Religion at an unspecified date (Mooney 1897: 330).
4. The Kiowa adopted an unspecified form of Peyotism from the Mescalero at an unspecified date (Idem).
5. The Comanche and Kiowa adopted the Peyote Religion from the Mescalero and Tonkawa at an unspecified date (Mooney 1898: 239. 1915: 70).
6. The Comanche adopted an unspecified form of Peyotism from unspecified Apache, ca. 1860.^{10a}
7. Unspecified Oklahoma tribes adopted the old Peyote complex from the Coahuilteco (specifically, the Carrizo) at an unspecified date.¹¹
8. An unspecified tribe adopted the Peyote Religion from an extinct race of giants at an unspecified date (Simmons 1913: chap. 13: 1).
9. An unspecified southern Plains tribe invented the Peyote Religion at an unspecified date (Simmons 1913: chap. 13: 1-2).

10. The Ponca invented the Peyote Religion, ca. 1891 (Seymour 1916: 184).

11. The Mescalero, other unspecified Apache tribes, and the Tonkawa had a war rite precursor of the religious rite. The Peyote Religion itself was independently invented by a Comanche at an unspecified date (Radin 1923: 398-400).

12. The Comanche adopted the Peyote Religion from an unspecified Apache tribe at an unspecified date (Skinner 1924: 233-37).

13. The Comanche invented the Peyote Religion at an unspecified date (Michelson n.d.: 1-5. Skinner 1924: 237-41. Speck 1933: 554-56. Petrullo 1934: 34-37, 40-41).

14. The Comanche adopted the Peyote Religion from the Jicarilla at an unspecified date (Curtis 1939: 199, 211-12).

15. A group of Comanche under Quanah brought the Peyote Religion from Mexico or the Southwest, ca. 1868 (Petrullo 1934: 129).

16. Quanah alone brought the individual aspect of the old Peyote complex from Mexico in 1875 (Tilghman 1938: 111-21).

17. The Comanche adopted the Peyote Religion from the Mescalero before 1874 (La Barre 1938: 112-13).

18. The Kiowa invented the Peyote Religion, at an unspecified date (Parsons 1941: 53).

19. A group of Comanche under Quanah brought the Peyote Religion from the Mescalero in 1884 (Marriott 1945: 165-72).

20. The Comanche adopted a war rite precursor of the religious rite from the Coyotero, ca. 1865 (McAllester 1949: 14-17. Wallace & Hoebel 1952: 334-36).

I do not see how reliable history can be inferred from such a mass of contradictory material. At best, they suggest that the Peyote Religion was invented during the second half of the 19th century in the Gulf, Southwest, or southern Plains. Thus the oral traditions are generally compatible with the conclusions derived previously.

A third way of attacking the problem of origins is by means of comparative typology. On the assumption that an invention is derived from customs already in the culture, we can determine the relative probabilities that the Peyote Religion was invented in one of the three culture areas, by the degree of similarity between the Peyote Religion trait complex and earlier trait complexes in the different culture area. Unfortunately, very little is known about the Gulf, and I myself am not a specialist in either the Apache or southern Plains. Therefore the following is a rudimentary attempt at comparative typological analysis. But it will serve to show what I am driving at, and perhaps may induce someone more knowledgeable to make a refined application of this methodological procedure.

(a) An all-night dancing rite, in which a ritual medicine was used, occurred in the Gulf,¹² Red River,¹³ and Southwest;¹⁴ I do not know any evidence of its presence in the Plains.¹⁵ The medicines are:

(1) Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*), used in the Gulf, Red River, and Southwest, but not in the Plains before 1850 (Slotkin 1955).

(2) Coral bean or mescal bean (*Sophora secundiflora*),¹⁶ used in the Gulf,¹⁷ Red River,¹⁸ Southwest,¹⁹ and Plains.²⁰

(3) Yaupon or cassine (*Ilex vomitoria*),²¹ used in the Gulf²² and Red River.²³

(b) An all-night curing rite, in which a ritual medicine was used, occurred in the Red River.²⁴ I do not know of such a rite in the other areas.

(c) Ritual patterns similar to the Peyote rite occur in the Red River,²⁵ Southwest,²⁶ and Plains.²⁷ I have not been able to find sufficiently detailed sources on the Gulf²⁸ to evaluate that area.

(d) Songs with "meaningless" texts²⁹ occur in the Gulf,³⁰ Red River,³¹ and Southwest.³² I do not know about the Plains. A musical style similar to that of Peyote songs occurs in the Southwest,³³ and not in the Plains. I have not found information about the song styles of the Gulf and Red River.

(e) The shelter consists of a tipi open to the east; sage, other brush, or grass is strewn on the inside margin of the tipi and covered with blankets for sitting. This occurs in the Plains³⁴ only, as far as I know.

(f) Voluntary associations for ritual purposes occur in the Plains.³⁵ I am unaware of their existence in the other areas.

(g) During the vanishing frontier period nationalistic religions occurred in the Southwest³⁶ and Plains.³⁷ I do not know of any such religions in the Gulf or Red River.

(h) The ritual paraphernalia used in the Peyote rite are similar in form, techniques of manufacture, and decoration, to older Plains artifacts.³⁸ There seem to be few such similarities relative to the Southwest, Gulf, or Red. River.

We have considered a few trait complexes. Many additional similarities can be found in individual customs. Some from the Plains which seem particularly striking are participants continually directing their attention to a sacred image during the rite,³⁹ the use of cedar incense,⁴⁰ and amulets.⁴¹

I do not know what the results of a detailed comparative typology would be, but certainly the present attempt is inconclusive. From the evidence presented here, I do not see how one can choose between the four culture areas.

Well, the problem of origin has been attacked in three ways, and none has provided a solution. The place of origin for the Peyote Religion may have been any of the four culture areas: the Gulf, Southwest, Red River, or Plains. The date of origin was probably the second half of the 19th century, with Mooney's discovery of the cult in 1891 establishing that date as the terminus ante quem.

Some reflections suggest themselves as guides to future research on the problem of origins. I would discriminate between the old Peyote complex, a religion-like rite which is an intermediate form, and the Peyote Religion. On this basis it seems reasonable to hypothecate the following developmental sequence:

(a) The tribal dancing rite of the old Peyote complex used Peyote as an auxiliary. We know that this occurred in the Gulf, Red River, and Southwest at an early date (Slotkin 1955).

(b) The tribal dancing rite was changed into the form of a religion-like rite of singing, prayer, and quiet contemplation, centered upon Peyote. This, or something like it, may be the form found in the Southwest among the Mescalero about 1867 (Methvin 1899: 36-37). Survivals of this change perhaps exist in the occasional dancing found in the Peyote Religion.⁴²

(c) The religion-like rite diffused to the southern Plains. There the rite was transformed until compatible with the southern Plains culture pattern; around the rite was organized a Plains type voluntary association,⁴³ and the form given a nationalistic content: this is the Peyote Religion. Nationalism implies that the religion was invented either late in the vanishing frontier period (ca. 1870-ca. 1885) or during the post-frontier period (from ca. 1885); of course, we know it took place before 1891.

On this basis I would hazard a guess that the fully developed Peyote Religion was invented about 1885 by Comanche or Kiowa living at the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Agency in what is now Oklahoma. Before that time many tribes, both in the southern Plains⁴⁴ and to the north,⁴⁵ were slightly acquainted with the Peyote plant, the old Peyote complex, or a religion-like rite.

B. THE PEYOTE RELIGION IN THE LATE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURIES

Few details are known about the Peyote Religion in the late 19th century. The only substantial information consists of relatively brief descriptions for the Kiowa in 1891-96 (given in Chapter III), and the Southern Arapaho in 1899 (Kroeber 1907: 320-21, 398-410). Therefore I find it necessary to eke out my analysis with material from the early 20th century.

Irrespective of its place of origin, the religion seems to have

appeared originally in the Plains among the tribes of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency, and this reservation was the diffusion center of the modern Peyote Religion. At first the religion was but one of many, and its spread was limited to a few adjacent reservations in Oklahoma (Table 1). I will not attempt to trace the lines of diffusion for two reasons. First, in almost all tribes the traditional accounts are contradictory. Second, extensive intertribal visiting has resulted in diffusion from many sources, both contemporaneously and successively.¹

From a statement by Mooney (Mooney 1915: 73-74), we might infer that Peyote Religion diffused rapidly after the Ghost Dance was dropped.² This is an interesting hypothesis; testing it necessitates determining exactly when the Ghost Dance was dropped and the Peyote Religion adopted in each of the tribes. However, the supplementary bibliography on the Ghost Dance given in Chapter II, section D, shows that Mooney's classic study is not definitive for the time the Ghost Dance was dropped. My Tables 1 and 2 were constructed in an attempt to discover when the Peyote Religion was adopted, but the results are inconclusive because of the undetermined lag between the times of adoption and reporting in each case. Therefore the validity of the hypothesis is not established.

We may not be certain that the Peyote Religion spread as a substitute for the Ghost Dance. But Tables 1 and 2 make it plain that the Religion diffused rapidly around the turn of the century. In my opinion, this widespread acceptance is due to the fact that the religion provides adequate adjustment to the external and internal environmental conditions confronting the Indians; and also acts as an effective transition, for Indians, between Indian and White groups and customs in the present phase of intersocialization and acculturation. Putting it another way, and to repeat what was stated in Chapter II, it seems that the prime reason for the Peyote Religion's rapid diffusion was its program of accommodation. Let me elaborate:

(a) Under conditions when no naturalistic adjustments seemed adequate, and when other supernaturalistic adjustments were prohibited (especially the traditional Sun Dance and the nationalistic Ghost Dance), the religion provided a form of adequate supernaturalistic adjustment by establishing dependence upon a supreme being (the Great Spirit or God) and an intermediary spirit (Peyote, Jesus, or both).³

(b) Visions are needed in order to obtain a successful and healthy life. Traditionally the person went off in isolation in order to have a vision and through it he obtained individualized power and material benefits.⁴ The religion substituted participation in a collective rite in order to have a vision, and through it the individual obtains socialized help and moral strength.⁵ (I suspect that this change was due to two influences: the need for social reorganization and the adoption of the White concept of supernatural aid.) In many culture

Table 1

**TRIBES, LOCATED BY AGENCIES IN 1890,
HAVING DOCUMENTED PEYOTISM, 1850-1899**

Arizona

Pima Agency
 Papago (Young 1895: 122)—Southwest

Nebraska

Winnebago Agency
 Winnebago (Meeker 1898)—Midwest

New Mexico

Mescalero Agency
 Mescalero (Clark 1888)—Southwest
 Lipan (Havard 1885: 521 (?). Clark 1888)—Southwest
 Southern Ute and Jicarilla Agency
 Jicarilla (Mooney 1900: xvi)—Southwest

Oklahoma

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency
 Southern Arapaho (Ashley 1890: 180)—Plains
 Southern Cheyenne (Ashley 1890: 180)—Plains
 Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency
 Caddo (Mooney 1896b: 904)—Red River
 Comanche (Hall 1886: 130)—Plains
 Delaware (Ijams 1898: 2)—Middle Atlantic Slope
 Kiowa (Hall 1886: 130)—Plains
 Kiowa Apache (Hall 1886: 130)—Plains
 Wichita (Mooney 1915: 71)—Red River
 Osage Agency
 Osage (Pollock 1899: 297)—Prairie
 Ponca, Pawnee, and Otoe Agency
 Tonkawa (Wood 1890: 194)—Gulf
 Quapaw Agency (or Osage Agency)
 Quapaw (Ijams 1898: 2)—Red River

Texas

Unspecified (Lumholtz 1902: I 358)
 Vicinity of Laredo (Coulter 1894: 131)

"Southwest" (Briggs 1887: 276. Bandelier 1890: I 88)

Eastern exile

Chiricahua (?) (Jones 1899: 95)—Southwest

Table 2

**ADDITIONAL TRIBES, BY LOCATION IN 1945,
HAVING DOCUMENTED PEYOTISM, 1900-1955**

United States

Arizona

Gila River

Pima (Hrdlicka 1908: 173, 244)—Southwest

Havasupai

Havasupai (Kaiker 1914: 65)—Southwest

Hualapai

Walapai (Iliff 1954: 54-63; pl. 2)—Southwest

Navajo

Navajo (Navajo Tribal Council 1940a)—Southwest

San Carlos

Coyotero (Curtis 1907: 42-43, 1930: 202)—Southwest

California

Mission (Daiker 1914: 65)—California

Paviotso (Stewart 1939)—Basin

Shoshoni (Nat. Am. Ch. U.S.A. 1955b)—Basin

Washo (Stewart 1939)—Basin

Colorado

Ute (Parsons 1936: 62)—Basin

Idaho

Fort Hall

Bannock (La Barre 1938: 114)—Basin

Shoshoni (La Barre 1938: 122)—Basin

Idaho and Nevada

Western Shoshone

Panamint (Harris 1940: 108)—Basin

Iowa

Sac and Fox

Sauk and Fox (Green 1909a)—Midwest

Kansas

Potawatomi

Potawatomi (Daiker 1914: 65)—Midwest

Table 2 (Continued)

Minnesota

Leech Lake

Chippowa (U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff. 1919: 164-83, 436-37)—Mid-west

Montana

Blackfeet

Blackfoot (Wissler, in La Barre 1938: 114)—Plains

Crow

Crow (Estep 1916)—Plains

Northern Cheyenne

Northern Cheyenne (Eddy 1911)—Plains

Rocky Boy's

Cree (Nat. Am. Church, Montana 1946)—Prairie

Nebraska

Santee Sioux

Santee (Larabee 1908)—Prairie

Omaha

Omaha (Larabee 1908)—Prairie

Nevada and California

Paviotso (Stewart 1939)—Basin

Nevado and Utah

Goshute

Gosiute (U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff. 1919: 234-38)—Basin

New Mexico

Pueblo

Taos (Simmons 1913: chap. 13: 3)—Southwest

North Dakota

Fort Berthold

Arikara (Newman 1924)—Prairie

Grosventre (Nat. Amer. Ch., N. Dakota 1955)—Prairie

Mandan (Nat. Amer. Ch., N. Dakota 1955)—Prairie

Fort Totten

Santee (U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff. 1919: 79-87)—Prairie

Oklahoma

Cherokee (Simmons 1913: chap. 13: 3)—Southeast

Creek (La Barre 1938: 114)—Southeast

Table 2 (Continued)

Oklahoma (cont.)

Iowa

Iowa (Kohlenberg 1906: 322)—Prairie
 Kansa (Miller 1909: 1)—Prairie
 Kickapoo

Kickapoo (Thackery 1909: 48-49)—Midwest

Oto

Oto (Newman 1906: 306)—Prairie
 Missouri (Daiker 1914: 65)—Prairie

Pawnee

Pawnee (Harvey 1903: 275)—Prairie

Ponca

Ponca (Connell 1906a)—Prairie

Sac and Fox

Sauk and Fox (Kohlenberg 1906: 322)—Midwest

Seminole (La Barre 1938: 114, 119)—Southeast

Seneca (La Barre 1938: 119)—Northeast

Shawnee

Shawnee (Daiker 1914: 65)—Midwest

Yuchi (U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff. 1919: 69)—Southeast

South Dakota

Pine Ridge

Teton (Wissler 1912: 99)—Plains

Rosebud

Teton (Wissler 1912: 99)—Plains

Yankton

Yankton (Runke 1911)—Prairie

Utah

Paiute (La Barre 1938: 120)—Basin

Uintah and Ouray

Ute (Duncan 1916)—Basin

Wisconsin

Menominee

Menomini (U.S. Dist. Court 1914)—Midwest

Potawatomi (Slotkin 1952)—Midwest

Winnebago (Stacy 1908)—Midwest

Lac du Flambeau

Chippewa (Ritzenthaler et al. 1942)—Midwest

Table 2 (Continued)

Wyoming**Wind River**

Northern Arapaho (Wadsworth 1909)—Plains
Wind River Shoshoni (Wadsworth 1909)—Basin

Canada**Alberta****Blackfoot—Plains**

Cree (La Barre 1938: 114, 122)—Eastern Subarctic
Ojibwa (La Barre 1938: 114, 122)—Northern Great Lakes

Manitoba

Ojibwa (La Barre 1938: 114, 122)—Northern Great Lakes

Saskatchewan**Assiniboine—Plains**

Cree (La Barre 1938: 114, 122)—Eastern Subarctic

areas the visions traditionally were induced by subjecting oneself to great physical stress—fasting, self-injury, etc.—and even then visions were often faint or did not occur at all. Peyote, when taken under proper ritual conditions, induces visions with little physical stress, and visions are both common and vivid.⁶

(c) The religion included a syncretistic ethic. For the traditional value system based upon an ethic whose goals and means of achieving them were now unattainable (revolving around warfare, hunting, and raiding),⁷ the religion substituted a value system based upon an ethic adopted from White mores, but compatible with the Indian culture pattern. Thus the religion provided a code whose goals and means of achieving them were attainable in the dominant White society, and in the process of achieving them the Peyotist won White approval by overtly conforming to White mores.⁸

(d) Conforming to Indian tradition, the religion's doctrines are individually validated by one's own religious experiences, rather than being a group's creed to be accepted on faith.⁹ And as we have seen, the religious ethic is White in origin and therefore basically individualistic. Thus the religion helps its adherents conform to the White emphasis on individualism.

(e) The Peyote Religion provided for the Indians in the Plains means of accommodating, which were similar to those provided by the Jesus Cult for the lower classes in the Roman Empire. The adherent could resign himself to his present objective subordinate status for three reasons:

(1) The ethic minimized the importance of this subordination, so that one could obtain a subjective tranquility.¹⁰

(2) The rite provided a technique of communion with the spirits; this temporarily lifts the adherent from the commonplace level of mundane existence to the exalted level of spiritual sublimity.¹¹

(3) According to the religious eschatology, those who conform to the religion's ethic in this world will be rewarded with eternal bliss in the next world, in the company of spirits and loved ones.¹²

(f) In the post-frontier period two White disorders, tuberculosis and alcoholism, were the major health problems. Neither seemed curable by traditional means; the religion treated both.¹³ Also, there were a large variety of traditional medicines and rites for different diseases, and it was a costly and lengthy procedure to obtain knowledge of them. The religion provided a single medicine and rite for all spiritual and physical diseases at little expense in time and money.¹⁴

(g) The religion provided esthetic adjustments, both in regard

to art and recreation. The Peyote rite itself became an highly esthetic ceremony comparable to a Roman Catholic high mass. Also, new artistic styles were developed and elaborated around the ritual songs¹⁵ and paraphernalia.¹⁶ Recreation occurs on the day following the rite. This provides a period of socializing which is longer and more satisfying than that of White churchgoers. Adults gossip, and exchange experiences and knowledge, in a leisurely fashion, while the children play.¹⁷

(h) The religion provided for social reorganization by which its adherents could conform to the traditional Indian emphasis on collectivism.

(1) As we saw in Chapter II, all traditional groups except the nuclear family had disintegrated. The religion's organization is a voluntary association with great social solidarity.¹⁸

(a) The rite is collective, and heightens the intellectual and emotional sensitivity of the participants. These features, operating together, maximize the effects of circular interaction and normalization.

(b) According to the religion's ethic, all members should treat each other as brothers and sisters, and help one another.¹⁹ This results in mutual help between intratribal members, particularly in cases of economic need or sickness. Intertribal visiting at the rite is the rule, and such visits are accompanied by gift giving.²⁰

(2) The religious organization provided a new set of social roles, achieved rather than ascribed. And the hierarchy of roles in the religions organization provided an attainable status system substituting for the unattainable traditional status system.

(i) Disorganized or unorganized persons could become organized within the religion.

(1) The religion's customs provided life goals and means of achieving them, constituting careers in terms of which the individual could organize his life.

(a) The ethic provided attainable goals and means of achieving them.

(b) The religion's status system provided attainable social roles with varying amounts of status, which, being achieved, were available to all men.²¹

(2) The religion's social interaction helped the individual organize his life.²² These social mechanisms are poorly understood, in spite of the extensive development of group psychotherapy in the last two decades. The following hypothetical explanation represents

my own attempt to comprehend the processes involved.

(a) One of the major group goals is reorganizing the disorganized personality of members. Thus an individual's reorganization is achieved by collective action. The other members of the group cooperate to help him reorganize himself. Meanwhile, the individual is not only trying to reorganize himself for his own sake. At the same time, since he is a member of a group with great solidarity, his esprit de corps and morale lead him to reorganize his personality for the sake of the group as a whole, since this is also a group goal.

(b) The members constitute an harmonious primary group, confronted by common situations, and with common ethic. These conditions maximize circular interaction and normalization. In circular interaction the members of a group respond both to a common situation and to each other's responses to this situation; in this process responses are sooner elicited and more facilitated, than occurs in isolation.²³ In normalization the members of a group tend to modify their responses in conformity with one another, so that there is a narrower range of variability in responses to a common situation than occurs in isolation.²⁴ Therefore when a disorganized person joins a group of the sort we are considering, organizing behavior is elicited and facilitated, and tends to conform to the group norm.

(c) The previously mentioned processes of personality reorganization are reinforced by the supplementary motives of gregariousness and the desire for approbation. Personality disorganization is usually related to inadequate social interaction involving an appreciable amount of social isolation; therefore, insofar as a disorganized person behaves acceptably within a primary group with great solidarity, he satisfies his desire for gregariousness. Also, in the process of reorganizing his personality in conformity with the group standards, he receives group approval.

(j) The religion is nationalistic. It is a religion for all Indians.²⁵ Its nativistic character permits its adherents to take pride in an Indian trait complex which they believe equal or superior to that of Whites.²⁶ Other nativistic elements were the use of Indian dress and language during the rite.²⁷ The religion is also a Pan-Indian social movement, both expressing and intensifying ethnic group identity and solidarity; intertribal solidarity within the religion is substituted for disorganized bands and tribes.²⁸ *Universality of Religion in A Indian*

(k) The religion's trait complex contains many customs continued or revived from the traditional culture, and therefore it was compatible with the Plains culture pattern.

(l) Peyotism, as a syncretistic religion, was not only compatible with the traditional Indian culture pattern, but also adopted compat-

ible White religious traits. Because of the former, the religion attracted orthodox Indians. Because of the latter, it attracted the increasing number of acculturated and marginal Indians who found traditional supernaturalism unacceptable.

(m) Traditional Plains supernaturalism placed no emphasis upon the shaman as intermediary between laymen and spirits, or upon fixed creeds and rituals. Reliance was upon individual revelation and validation.²⁹ This pattern was continued in Peyotism,³⁰ making it very flexible. It could be changed easily so as to keep up with rapid changes in the external and internal environments. Presumably the first important change was the variant introduced by John Wilson (Caddo-Delaware).³¹ Another interesting variant was the "Twelve Disciples" of Peyote among the Kiowa, which disintegrated before 1901; the society consisted of a dozen men and women who adopted religious exclusivism and a daytime rite.³² (Similar developments in the 20th century will be considered in the next section.)

For all these reasons the most ardent adherents of the Peyote Religion were young men, and particularly those who were somewhat acculturated and marginal.³³

Repeated statements have been made about the syncretistic nature of the Peyote Religion, and some evidence of this should be given.

The religion's pantheon was syncretistic. The following spirits are mentioned in the early literature:

(a) The Great Spirit was equated with God; his role is unclear.

(b) Peyote Woman (see Plate 2) was equated with Jesus,³⁴ the role is unclear.

(c) Peyote, often personified as Peyote Spirit,³⁵ was equated with Jesus³⁶ or the Holy Ghost.³⁷ A more sophisticated version made Peyote an incarnation of the Holy Ghost, and equated it with the Christian sacrament of bread and wine.³⁸

(d) There were messenger spirits in the form of birds,³⁹ and these already may have been equated with the Christian dove.⁴⁰

The religion's ethics and eschatology were syncretistic.

The traditional Plains ethics revolved around warfare and hunting, as has been stated above. We know very little about the religion's ethic in the 19th century: presumably it existed, for there are a few hints to that effect, and we know that there was a Ghost Dance ethic which was greatly influenced by White mores. In the early 20th century the religion's ethic, known as the Peyote Road,⁴¹ was a combination of traditional ritual ideals and lower class rural White mores. According to Peyotist beliefs, the ethical value of Peyote was two-fold; it revealed the Road, and helped one to follow it.⁴² Particular stress was laid on those elements believed most important for readjustment:⁴³

(a) Brotherly love. Members should be honest, truthful, friendly and helpful to one another.

(b) Care of family. Married people should not engage in extra-marital affairs, and should cherish and care for one another and their children. Money should be spent on the family as a whole, rather than selfishly.

(c) Self-reliance. Members should work steadily and reliably at their jobs, and earn their own living.

(d) Avoidance of alcohol.

According to the traditional eschatology, after death the members of one's own tribe went to a pleasant future world, and enemy tribes went to an unpleasant place.⁴⁴ The religion's eschatology adopted the White conception of ethical retribution, to some extent. Those who conform to the ethic go to Heaven, irrespective of tribe; but little or nothing is ever said of a Hell for evil-doers.

The religion's rite was syncretistic.

Some ritual details remained traditional both in form and meaning. The use of cedar incense is a case in point.

Some ritual details were modified in form, meaning, or both. For instance, the drum and gourd contained White materials (Kroeber 1907: 400). The traditional colored part in the hair⁴⁵ was interpreted as standing for the Peyote Road.⁴⁶ The use of the cross is aboriginal, standing for the cardinal points⁴⁷ or morning star;⁴⁸ the White crucifix and rosary were adopted as symbols of this traditional cross.⁴⁹ On the other hand, though the sign of the cross is also aboriginal,⁵⁰ it may have increased in importance due to White influence.⁵¹ The visions obtained from the use of Peyote were often interpreted as revelations from God or Jesus.⁵²

Some ritual details were completely new. Examples are removing one's hat before entering the ritual tipi (Mooney 1892a), and baptism (Mooney 1897: 332). The rite was usually held on Saturday night through Sunday, both as a consequence of adopting the White Sabbath and as an accommodation to White work patterns (Mooney 1896a: 7).

Some of the White influences seem Catholic, and may have been adopted as part of the ritual complex when it diffused from the Gulf or Southwest.⁵³ Examples are the use of the crucifix, rosary, and sign of the cross. Other White influences are probably Protestant, and incorporated into the cult in the Plains. I cannot isolate such traits in the 19th century; there are obvious examples in the early 20th century which will be given in the next section.

The syncretistic nature of the Peyote Religion was evident by 1887. For in that year the "Sons of the Sun" was started among the Kiowa, and it seems that the opposition between the two religions began almost immediately. The orthodox nativistic Sons of the Sun objected to the White traits in the Peyote Religion.⁵⁴

C. EARLY 20th CENTURY INNOVATIONS IN THE PEYOTE RELIGION

During the early 20th century there were two major types of innovations in the Peyote Religion.

The first resulted from diffusion of the religion to tribes outside the Plains culture area. In the process Peyotism was modified to make it compatible with local culture patterns; thus there was a proliferation of intertribal cult variants. For example, among the Quapaw at one time the rite was performed during the day, from about 6:00 a.m. to about 6:00 p.m. (Laurence 1903: 146, 152). Among the Winnebago, for a while only five male officials actively participated in the rite (Radin 1914: 3, 7. 1923: 388-89, 418). There are many other examples of intertribal variants;¹ they may be passed over because our primary concern is with Indian-White relations. Another significant consequence was that as the religion spread outside the Plains area where the sign language is known, it was replaced by English as the means of intertribal communication.

The second type of innovation resulted from accelerated intersocialization and acculturation after the break up of reservations by allotment. Consequently an increasing number of White religious customs were adopted. Many intratribal variants are due to differences in degree of acculturation among various segments within the tribe.²

- (a) The Peyote Religion is conceived to be an Indian version of Christianity.³ Thus White religion and Indian nativism are reconciled.
- (b) Some tribes have substituted White religious exclusivism for the traditional simultaneous acceptance of religious alternatives. In such cases Peyotists reject other Indian rites.⁴
- (c) The religion's pantheon usually includes the White Trinity.⁵ The Trinitarian formula is often repeated during the rite.
- (d) Some groups have adopted details of White puritan ethics. For instance, both the secular and sacred use of tobacco is prohibited.⁶
- (e) Peyotist visions take on a White content.⁷
- (f) In addition to Peyote as a means of direct revelation, some groups have adopted the White Bible as a corpus of revealed knowledge.⁸ Direct revelation is then used to interpret Biblical passages so as to make them compatible with Indian culture.⁹
- (g) Some of the more important examples of White adoptions into the rite are:¹⁰

- (1) The substitution of a wooden house for the tipi, in some tribes.¹¹

(2) Songs show White influence in both texts and music.¹²

(3) White customs of Bible readings¹³ and sermons¹⁴ have been introduced into the rite by some groups.

(4) White evangelistic customs, such as testimony¹⁵ and confession,¹⁶ have been adopted by some tribes.

(5) Modified forms of White rites of passage have been adopted by most tribes. These deal with birth, baptism, marriage, and death.¹⁷

(h) Missionaries engaged in proselytizing. These were either individual Peyote leaders who went out alone,¹⁸ or pairs of young adherents sent out Mormon fashion.¹⁹

(i) The religion was transformed into a church. This will be discussed at some length in Chapter VI.

It is evident from these kinds of religious acculturation that the White Christian complex known to Peyotists was the sectarian and fundamentalist variant of White missionaries and lower class rural people (see Chapter II, section A). This point is dramatically illustrated by the fact that among the Winnebago there was once a Peyote group who adopted the apostolic customs of the early Jesus Cult, the source being White popular religious pictures and statuary.²⁰

This increased adoption of White religious customs by Peyotists won them more adherents among marginal Indians. But it also aroused the opposition of orthodox and fusionist Indians.

The orthodox Indians, i.e., those who were attempting to conform to traditional Indian culture, opposed the religion on the grounds that it was a White rather than Indian religion. At the very least, they felt it was a revolutionary social movement.²¹ Shamans represented a vested interest which was particularly threatened by Peyotism—and shamans existed, especially outside the Plains culture area.²² The individualistic character of the religion meant that shamans were not needed as intermediaries between man and spirits; the use of Peyote as a catholicon made unnecessary the traditional medicines and curing rites of the shamans.²³

Some marginal persons opposed Peyotism. So far I have discussed one out of various possible modes of adjustment made by marginal persons: after being rejected by the dominant group, marginal people revert to the subordinate group and become nationalistic in order to overthrow the domination-subordination relation. Another mode of adjustment is for marginal people to become fusionists. They attempt to have the subordinate group reject all its own customs, and adopt the entire culture of the dominant group, in the hope that cultural uniformity will lead to social assimilation. Marginal fusionists have been violently opposed to Indian customs in general;²⁴ opposition to Peyotism is particularly bitter among marginal fusionists who use White religious organizations as their entree into the dominant group.²⁵

V / TWENTIETH CENTURY BACKGROUND

The first half of the 20th century has accelerated intersocialization and acculturation. This seems to be the prime factor in Indian-White relations.

A. WHITE RELATIONS WITH INDIANS

Allotment proceeded rapidly.¹ In 1903 the Supreme Court declared that Congress had the power to abrogate Indian treaties.² Congress, by a rider, stopped the payment of annuities in 1908.³ As a result of these circumstances, the economic position of the Indians became increasingly insecure.

Under the Allotment Act of 1887 allotted Indians were given citizenship immediately. Ostensibly because Indian voters were subject to political manipulation,⁴ the act was amended in 1906, postponing further citizenship until allotted Indians ceased to be under government control.⁵ Thus the Indians were prevented from becoming a political pressure group. An Indian Citizenship Act was finally passed in 1924,⁶ though some states prevented Indians from voting until recently.

The government continued its policy of social assimilation and cultural uniformity by means of imposition and dispersion. One significant change which occurred during the first decade of the 20th century was that Indian Bureau officials were placed under civil service. However, they were still highly ethnocentric and autocratic.⁷

The period during which John Collier was Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1933-45, provided an interlude. Anthropologists became officials, and the Bureau shifted to a policy of tribal self-government and cultural pluralism,⁸ implemented by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.⁹

But after 1945 the government returned to its traditional policy of social assimilation and cultural uniformity, looking forward to the termination of federal supervision over all Indians.¹⁰ As government officials conceive it, the last remaining federal legal restriction on the Indian's individual liberty was lifted with the repeal of the Indian liquor laws in 1953.¹¹

B. ATTEMPTS AT READJUSTMENT BY INDIANS

During the 20th century there has been no effective attempt on the part of Indians to overthrow the domination-subordination relation which holds them in subjection. Most Indians are resigned to their subordination, and have accommodated by developing customs compatible with their status, and by transforming their subordinate status into a dependency relation upon the dominant group.¹ Both forms of accommodation are exemplified by the elaboration of the 19th century customs of sending tribal petitions and delegations to the state and federal officials. Of a different order is the development of various kinds of nationalistic movements.

Militant nationalism has arisen in the social sphere to overthrow the domination-subordination relation.

Some of these militant action groups use naturalistic means. A new development was the formation of national organizations on the White pattern. The earliest was organized under White initiative, by Indians with college education; this was the Society of American Indians, founded at Ohio State University, 1911.² Since then all sorts of national groups have been organized, including the fascist American Indian Federation, founded in Washington, 1934.³ The most important militant organization today is the National Congress of American Indians, founded in Denver, 1944.⁴ There are also many regional and state groups.

Other militant action groups are supernaturalistic in character. There have been a whole succession of minor religious movements which have diffused rapidly from one reservation to another. The following are two characteristic religious phenomena which spread across the north central states during the 1940's, and were kept from Whites: (a) Jesus is to be reborn again as an Indian savior, and every now and then the rumor would spread that a child on some reservation was the reborn Christ. (b) A big wind will sweep across the country, destroying all Whites and any Indians who follow White customs; only Indians conforming to traditional cultures would be saved.

Nativistic nationalism has arisen in the cultural sphere to overthrow the domination-subordination relation.

Some of these nativistic action groups use naturalistic means. The most popular is the intratribal and intertribal music and dance powwow.⁵

Other nativistic action groups are supernaturalistic in character. An example of this is the Dream Dance,⁶ the Midwest variant of the Grass Dance.

Under existing conditions opposition had little appeal; almost all Indians have preferred accommodation instead. And the conditions confronting the Indians are so difficult that naturalistic forms of accommodation alone are inadequate; they are supplemented by supernaturalistic forms. Therefore many religious movements have

developed; the peak seems to have come during the second decade of the 20th century.⁷ Out of all these, Peyotism emerged as the dominant Indian religion and nativistic movement in the territory from the Rocky Mountains to the Great Lakes.

C. WHITE ATTEMPTS TO SUPPRESS PEYOTISM

Once the Whites realized that Peyotism had become the dominant Indian religion and nativistic movement, attempts were made to suppress it as counter to the policy of social assimilation and cultural uniformity. The highly ethnocentric and autocratic character of Bureau officials is dramatically illustrated by the means they used in their anti-Peyotist campaign.

Peyotism was opposed by White officials on various grounds.

First, and most important, Peyotism was an Indian religion and nativistic movement which was spreading rapidly.¹ Therefore, in line with the Bureau's policy of cultural uniformity, Peyotism came under the ban against all Indian rites which obviously reinforced traditional culture or offered strong competition to White Christianity.²

Second, and less important, the psychological effects of Peyote were conceived to be incompatible with White mores.³ From the beginning, White officials attempted to rationalize their opposition on this basis by stating that Peyote "is evidently injurious" (Hall 1886: 130). In this connection the following observations may be made:

(a) There is no valid scientific evidence that Peyote is harmful, either mentally or physically, as there is for the injurious effects of alcohol, coffee, or tobacco, commonly used by Whites. Consequently the fact that opponents of Peyote are anxious to prohibit its use, but not the popular White drugs, shows that their prejudice is entirely ethnocentric.

(b) Peyote has been called an intoxicant or narcotic, and attempts have been made to prohibit it as such. Consideration of this matter can be divided into two parts, the temporary and permanent effects of such drugs.⁴

The temporary effects of intoxicants and narcotics are to produce excitement, muscular incoordination, loss of self-control, stupor or sleep, and a hangover. No scientific observer has found any of these effects among Peyotists.⁵ A simple example will demonstrate this point. The musical rhythm used in the Peyote rite is very fast, 130-160 beats per minute. The custom is for each male participant to rattle while he himself sings solo, and to drum while the man next to him sings; this procedure continues all through the rite. Not only does everyone sing, rattle, and drum when it is his turn to do so, but also no one misses beats, and most men pride themselves on the esthetic nuances of tone produced while maintain-

ing the rhythm. Can a group achieve such muscular coordination while under the influence of intoxicants or narcotics?

The permanent effect of narcotics is to produce addiction. Specifically, they are habit forming, the body acquires an increased tolerance for the drug, becomes physiologically dependent upon it, and there are withdrawal symptoms when it is no longer taken. Again, no scientific observer has ever found a case of Peyote addiction⁶—not even like the addiction to alcohol, coffee, and tobacco common among Whites, let alone like the addiction to opiates.

These findings as to the lack of such temporary and permanent effects in Peyotists were reported from the beginning by all scientists who have made first-hand studies of the matter.⁷

(c) Peyote was prohibited before any investigations were made.⁸ When anti-Peyotists finally began quoting scientists to rationalize their position, from 1909 on, they ignored all those who had made first-hand studies of its use by Indian Peyotists, and seized upon observations made on Whites under laboratory conditions. Now the curious thing is that the responses described in clinical experiments on Whites are so different from the responses described by Indian Peyotists, or Whites who have taken Peyote with Indians under ritual conditions, as to fall into completely different categories; they do not seem to be talking about the same thing. This observation has been made a number of times, from the beginning of our knowledge of Peyotism⁹ up to the present.¹⁰ Consequently a determination of the effects of Peyote or its derivatives upon Whites under laboratory conditions is irrelevant to a determination of its effects upon Peyotists. These differential responses are not racial, since anthropologists and other White participants react like Indians. Evidently the responses vary with the social conditions under which the stimuli are perceived.

(d) The most recent rationalization against Peyotism is that Peyotists use Peyote as a medicine, instead of going to White physicians.¹¹ In this connection the following remarks are appropriate:

(1) Most people who are introduced to Peyote for medical reasons come to it after all else—including White medicine—has failed. For example, the typical case from the beginning has been the tubercular given up by White physicians who takes Peyote and recovers.¹² In this regard Peyotist accounts sound like Christian Science testimonials.

(2) In the case of serious illness Peyotists commonly use White medicine in conjunction with Peyote curing rites. Yet devout White Christian Scientists resort exclusively to Christian Science practitioners rather than physicians. The lack of equal opposition against the latter practice demonstrates the ethnocentric basis of anti-Peyotism in this regard.

(3) Little is known by White pharmacologists about the

medical effects of Peyote, which, in many cases, seems to have produced various cures.¹³ It may well be that White physicians will adopt Peyote from the American Indians, as they did quinine in the early days and curare more recently.

There are more things in Heaven and Earth, Horatio,
Then are dreamt of in your Philosophy.

(4) Suppose Peyote has no medical benefits, and the Peyote curing rites are examples of faith healing. Then one may ask on what grounds, beside sheer ethnocentrism, Peyotist curing should be prohibited to subordinate Indians; while dominant Whites validate their own religion by the miraculous cures of Jesus (Mark, 1:23-45, et passim), permit faith healing in Catholic sanctuaries, and allow Christian Science practitioners to operate among the middle class.

So far we have considered the anti-Peyotism of White officials. They have been abetted by White missionaries, to whom Peyotism is the major competitor.¹⁴ The missionaries also have contributed to the repertory of anti-Peyotist arguments just discussed, for these Christians adopted from the early opponents of Christianity itself¹⁵ additional rationalization against Peyotism; namely, that the rite includes immoral orgies.¹⁶ As a matter of fact there is no more evidence for such orgies in Peyotism than there was in Christianity.¹⁷ But most amusing of all is the spectacle of White missionaries opposing Peyotism on naturalistic medical grounds in one breath, and in the next confirming their own religion by Jesus' miraculous cures.¹⁸

For all these reasons the Bureau of Indian Affairs has had a long history of attempting to suppress Peyotism—even though this had to be done without any valid legal basis.¹⁹

The earliest official who reported on the use of Peyote suggested that it be prohibited (Hall 1886: 130). In 1888 the agent of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency issued an order forbidding Peyote on the reservation.²⁰ Further anti-Peyotist regulations were issued in 1890²¹ and subsequently;²² I have been unable to locate the latter. The fact that such regulations violated the Constitutional guarantee of religious freedom²³ was ignored by Bureau officials.²⁴

The Indian Bureau Appropriation Act for 1907 first contained an item for the suppression of the liquor traffic.²⁵ The following year Bureau officials interpreted Peyote as coming under this provision,²⁶ and undertook their first organized anti-Peyotist campaign. In May 1909 W. E. ("Pussyfoot") Johnson, Chief Special Officer, Suppression of Liquor Traffic among Indians,²⁷ went to Webb County, Texas (which has always been the main source of supply for Peyotists in the United States and Canada), bought up and destroyed all Peyote on the market, intimidated dealers into discontinuing its sale, arranged informally with local Customs officers to stop its importation from Mexico, and obtained an agreement from express companies to refuse shipments (Johnson 1909b-d). All this was done in the absence of any federal laws against Peyote. Evidently this non-legal anti-Peyotist campaign was fought successfully by Peyotists,

for the latter soon seem to have acquired Peyote again.²⁸ Indeed, the Bureau seems to have been forced to drop its anti-Peyote campaign for a while in 1910.^{28a} The Bureau then tried to have Congress pass a rider to the Indian Bureau Appropriation Act, including Peyote along with liquor.²⁹ The first attempt, in 1913, failed.³⁰ The Bureau persisted,³¹ and finally succeeded in having Peyote included during the period 1923-34, after the appropriation bill was shifted from the Committee on Indian Affairs to the Committee on Appropriations.³² In 1935 John Collier dropped the suppression of Peyote as an item from the Bureau's budget,³³ and it has not appeared since.

The Bureau also tried to have Congress pass a law prohibiting the use of Peyote. In 1907 a group of Indian agents wrote a petition to Congress requesting passage of an anti-Peyote law (Leonard et al. 1907), but it was not sent to Congress for political reasons (Johnson 1907b). The Bureau itself drafted a bill, but did not submit it to Congress, in 1910.³⁴ A series of bills to prohibit Peyote were introduced in the years 1916-37, but all were defeated (Table 3). Thus there is not, and never had been, a federal law against Peyote. However, though it has been excluded from all Narcotic Acts,³⁵ Peyote has been defined as a narcotic in two federal statutes, the Narcotic Addict Farm Act of 1929,³⁶ and the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938.³⁷ Up to the present time no occasion has arisen for either law to be applied to Peyote or Peyotists.

Interestingly enough, even though Congress had specifically rejected any prohibition of Peyote during the years 1910-22, the Bureau went counter to Congress,³⁸ and continued to enforce its anti-Peyotist regulations, as has been shown above. The anti-Peyote rider passed by Congress during the years 1923-34 was, from a legal point of view, simply a bluff.³⁹ The legality of this rider was not challenged in the courts.

When it could not obtain satisfactory cooperation from Congress, the Bureau turned to other executive departments for help.

The Treasury Department was called upon first. An attempt was made to have the Bureau of Customs prohibit the importation of Peyote from Mexico, which the officials believed to be the main source of supply. The Treasury Department refused to cooperate, stating that "there is no provision of law specifically prohibiting the importation" of Peyote.⁴⁰ After the Harrison Narcotic Act was passed in 1914,⁴¹ the Bureau worked hard to obtain an interpretation of the law which would include Peyote. However, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue wrote in 1914 that Peyote did not come under the provisions of that act, so that specific legislation on the subject would be necessary.⁴² (Presumably this was the reason the first anti-Peyote bills were introduced in Congress in 1916.)

When the Treasury Department would not cooperate, the Bureau of Indian Affairs went to the Attorney General and asked him if Peyote could be interpreted as coming under the Narcotic Act. His opinion, too, was that the law did not apply to Peyote.⁴³

Meanwhile, after extended negotiations beginning in 1908,⁴⁴ the

Table 3

**LIST OF FEDERAL BILLS TO PROHIBIT PEYOTE,
INTRODUCERS OF THE BILLS, AND RELATED DOCUMENTS,
1916-1937**

1916	64th Congress, 1st session S. 3526 (W.H. Thompson, Kansas) <u>Documents and Reports</u> , ser. 6898, no. 316 <u>Congressional Record</u> , 53: pt. 7: 6720-21 pt. 9: 9231 H.R. 10669 (H. L. Gandy, South Dakota)
1917	65th Congress, 1st session S. 1862 (H. F. Ashurst, Arizona) H.R. 4999 (Gandy)
1918	65th Congress, 2nd session H.R. 2614 (C. Hayden, Arizona) House, Committee on Indian Affairs 1918a <u>Documents and Reports</u> , ser. 7308, no. 560 <u>Congressional Record</u> , 56: pt. 7: 6469 pt. 11: 1113-15, 11155
1919	66th Congress, 1st session H.R. 398 (Gandy) <u>Congressional Record</u> , 59: pt. 9: 9149-51
1921	67th Congress, 1st session H.R. 2890 (Hayden)
1922	67th Congress, 2nd session H.R. 10738 (Hayden)
1924	68th Congress, 1st session S. 2071 (C. Curtis, Kansas)
1926	69th Congress, 1st session H.R. 7589 (S. Leavitt, Montana)
1937	75th Congress, 1st session S. 1399 (D. Chavez, New Mexico) U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1937.

Department of Agriculture was prevailed upon to issue a regulation in 1915 prohibiting the importation of Peyote "on the ground that it is an article dangerous to the health of the people of the United States."⁴⁵ This regulation was rescinded in 1937.⁴⁶

On the basis of the Department of Agriculture regulation, the Bureau obtained from the Post Office Department in 1917 a regulation banning the shipment of Peyote through the mails.⁴⁷ This regulation was rescinded in 1940.⁴⁸ According to a recent statement, Peyote is still classified as mailable.⁴⁹

Unfortunately for the Bureau, anthropologists in the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology, who were assigned to study Peyotism, found that it helped rather than hurt the Indians, and were in favor of it.⁵⁰ The Bureau of Indian Affairs ignored the findings of these scientists and began to feud with them over the matter. All this time Mooney was the chief specialist on Peyotism for the Bureau of American Ethnology, preparing a monograph on the subject. In October, 1918 the controversy became so bitter that the Bureau of Indian Affairs expelled Mooney from the Kiowa Reservation, and his study was halted as a result. In 1919, and again in 1920, the Smithsonian Institution asked that he be permitted to return to the reservation, submitting a physician's report that he had a bad heart and could not live much longer. The Bureau of Indian Affairs refused the request, and Mooney died without having completed a study which probably would have been on a par with his classic monograph on the Ghost Dance.⁵¹

The Bureau also went to the judiciary for help. It had Peyotists arrested on the grounds that they had violated the Indian liquor laws. The federal courts decided that the laws did not apply to Peyote.⁵²

To sum up, the history of Bureau suppression of Peyotism is a case study in how an agency can flout the Constitution, Congress, the judiciary, and other executive departments, if it has the support of powerful pressure groups.

The only qualification that need be made is that since 1934 the Bureau of Indian Affairs has permitted Peyotism and other Indian rites in conformity with Constitutional guarantees of religious freedom.⁵³ This policy has been subject to violent attacks.⁵⁴

In order to overcome the lack of legal support on a federal level, anti-Peyotists have tried to make good the deficiency on a state level.⁵⁵ Here they have been more successful. A number of states have passed laws prohibiting Peyote (Table 4), under which at least one Peyotist has been punished.⁵⁶ The constitutionality of these state laws has not been challenged in the federal courts as violations of the Constitutional guarantee of religious freedom.

So far the United States has been considered. If I had access to the relevant material, I could have documented a similar story for Canada. The only difference is that in Canada the persecution continues on a commonwealth as well as provincial level—this is spite of the fact that there has never been a single Canadian federal or provincial anti-Peyote law, to my knowledge.

Table 4

STATE LAWS AGAINST PEYOTE, 1899-1937

State	Passed	Repealed
Arizona	<u>Acts</u> , 1923, p. 135	
Colorado	<u>Laws</u> , 1917, pp. 6-8	
Idaho	<u>General Laws</u> , 1935, p. 204.	
Iowa	<u>Acts and Joint Resolutions</u> . 1924, p. 46	By omission from: <u>Acts</u> <u>and Joint Resolutions</u> , 1937, p. 1
Kansas	<u>Laws</u> , 1920, p. 58	
Montana	<u>Laws</u> , 1923, p. 40	
Nevada	<u>Statutes</u> , 1917, p. 349	
New Mexico	<u>Laws</u> , 1929, p. 183	
North Dakota	<u>Laws</u> , 1923, pp. 363-64	
Oklahoma	<u>Session Laws</u> , 1899, pp. 122- 23. ⁵⁷	By omission from: <u>Gen-</u> <u>eral Statutes</u> , 1908.*
South Dakota	<u>Laws</u> , 1923, p. 136	
Texas	<u>General and Special Laws</u> 1937, p. 335	By omission from: <u>Gen-</u> <u>eral and Special Laws</u> , 1954, (Vernon ed.) pp. 103-04.
Utah	<u>Laws</u> , 1917, pp. 32-34	By omission from <u>Laws</u> , 1935, p. 175
Wyoming	<u>Session Laws</u> , 1929, p. 67	

*Subsequent attempts to repass anti-Peyote laws in Oklahoma have failed; see: Oklahoma, Legislature, House, Journal, 2 (1909), pp. 118, 126, 180-81, 211, 353.⁵⁸ Oklahoma, Legislature, Senate, Journal, 11, (1927), pp. 573, 594, 907.⁵⁹

VI / THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH, ITS PRECURSERS, AND OTHER INDIAN DEFENSES AGAINST WHITE ANTI-PEYOTISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Indians developed various lines of defense against the Bureau's anti-Peyotist activities described in the preceding chapter. These may be classed as political, religious, and medical. One thing they all tend to have in common. In order to accommodate to White anti-Peyotism, White customs have been adopted increasingly as defense measures.

A. POLITICAL DEFENSES

Political defenses have centered on a demand for the religious liberty guaranteed in the 1st Amendment of the United States Constitution.¹ The Peyotists have used those political means, developed in the 19th century, which were described in Chapter II, Section C. They have sent tribal and intertribal petitions² and delegates³ to Washington, hired lawyers,⁴ and asked White pro-Indian individuals⁵ and organizations to intercede on their behalf.⁶ But along with these older means of accommodation there now appear Peyote defense associations. I have been unable to find much data on the development of these associations, so the following account is partly conjectural.

Ritual associations were traditional in the Plains.⁷ Therefore it might be expected that such an organization would also be developed around Peyotism, as was argued in Chapter IV, Section A. In addition, however, the Peyotists were influenced by the rural lower class White organizational complex of the early 20th century. Some that seem particularly significant are the denominational organization, particularly that of the Mormons;⁸ the temperance society; and the secular fraternal organization. As part of the acculturation process, then, the early 20th century Peyote associations probably combined the traits of both Indian and White organizational complexes. Presumably the earliest Peyote associations were local.

The Pan-Indian character of Peyotism itself facilitated intertribal relations between local Peyote groups, as we have seen in Chapter IV, Section B. These relations were further strengthened by the activities of Peyote missionaries. Therefore it is not surprising that by 1906 there existed a loose intertribal Peyotist association, spread from Oklahoma in the south to Nebraska in the north, called the "Mescal Bean Eaters."⁹

Meanwhile, the Bureau's anti-Peyotist activities were changing

the Peyote groups into defense associations. First, I suspect that the General Council of the Indian Territory, and similar intertribal political institutions, had taught the Indians the value of adopting the White organizational complex as a defense against Whites. Second, Bureau regulations made Peyote contraband on reservations, so that an intertribal arrangement was needed to smuggle Peyote from Texas to groups some distance away from the source of supply.¹⁰ Third, Bureau officials denied all request for the right to use Peyote ritually, and refused to accept Peyotism as a bona fide religion. So by 1909 the "Mescal Bean Eaters" was changed into the "Union Church."¹¹ This is significant on various counts. (a) The use of the White term "church," with all its connotations, is an attempt to put Peyotism on a par with White religions. (b) The name reveals an attempt to accommodate to White patterns of religious organization. (c) It is a more dignified name according to White standards, reflecting the sensitivity of marginal people to the opinions of the dominant ethnic group.

From 1911 on, and perhaps earlier, there are documents referring to an intertribal "Peyote Society." I do not know whether it was an alternative name for the Union Church, or a different association. The Society consisted of "lodges" with elected officials according to the White pattern. Members were called "Peyote boys."¹²

Changing the name of a Peyote association to the Union Church did not help much. The next step was to incorporate Peyotist associations. This was conceived to be official recognition formally obtained from the government. It had first been used as a defense by the Indian Shaker Church of the Northwest, on the county level in 1892 and on the state level in 1907.¹³ Independently, for without any knowledge of the Shakers¹⁴ but on the advice of a lawyer,¹⁵ Jonathan Koshiway and other Oto incorporated "The Firstborn Church of Christ"¹⁶ in Oklahoma in 1914.¹⁷ Originally it consisted of a local group of Oto around Red Rock, Oklahoma. A few other groups affiliated subsequently, but it has always remained a small organization.

The most determined effort of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to have an anti-Peyote law passed took place in 1918, when H.R. 2614 was submitted to the 65th Congress, 2nd Session. The House Committee on Indian Affairs held hearings on the bill in February and March of that year. As a result, intertribal conferences were held in Oklahoma during the summer, at which the delegates discussed incorporating a Pan-Indian Peyotist association as a defense measure.¹⁸ They knew about Koshiway's earlier use of this device; and if they hadn't known of the Indian Shaker Church incorporation before, some of them were informed by Mooney. There is reason to believe that it was on Mooney's initiative¹⁹ that the "Native American Church" was incorporated in Oklahoma on October 10, 1918.²⁰ By contrast with the Firstborn Church, this one was intertribal—though limited to Oklahoma—from the beginning, as can be seen from the lists of original chief personnel (Table 5). The Native

Table 5

**CHIEF PERSONNEL OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH,
OKLAHOMA, 1918**

A. Incorporators

Name	Residence	Tribe
Mack Haag	Calumet	Southern Cheyenne
Sidney White Crane	Kingfisher	Southern Cheyenne
Charles W. Dailey	Red Rock	Oto
George Pipestem	Red Rock	Oto
Charles E. Moore	Red Rock	Oto
Frank Eagle	Ponca City	Ponca
Wilbur Peawa	Fletcher	Comanche
Mam Sockwat	Baird	Comanche
Kiowa Charley	Ft. Cobb	Kiowa
Ben Chaletsin	Apache	Kiowa Apache

From: Native American Church, Articles of Incorporation, 1918.

B. Tribal Delegates

Comanche	Wilbur Peawa, Mam Sookwat
Kiowa	Kiowa Charley, Delos Lone Wolf
Kiowa Apache	Ben Chaletsin, Tennyson Berry
Oto	Charles W. Dailey, George Pipestem
Ponca	Frank Eagle, Louis McDonald
Southern Arapaho	Paul Boynton, Clever Warden
Southern Cheyenne	Mack Haag, Sidney White Crane

From: Native American Church, Articles of Incorporation, 1918.

C. Original Officers

Office	Name	Tribe
President	Frank Eagle	Ponca
Vice President	Mack Haag	Southern Cheyenne
Secretary	George Pipestem	Oto
Treasurer	Louis McDonald	Ponca

From: Native American Church, Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1 (1918)

Table 6

**INCORPORATED PEYOTIST ORGANIZATIONS,
BY LOCATION AND FILING DATE, 1914-1955**

United States

Arizona	Native American Church of the State of Arizona, Feb. 28, 1946
Colorado	Native American Lodge, July 15, 1926
	Native American Church of the State of Colorado, April 2, 1946
Idaho	Native American Church, April 1, 1925
Iowa	Native American Church, October 15, 1943 amended: Feb. 20, 1947
Montana	Native American Church, March 26, 1925 amended: June 24, 1940
Nebraska	Peyote Church of Christ, June 29, 1921 amended (to "Native American Church"): June 29, 1922 amended: March 3, 1937 amended: April 20, 1937
New Mexico	Native American Church, June 15, 1945
North Dakota	Native American Church, October 29, 1923
	Newton Native American Church, Jan. 7, 1955
Oklahoma	Firstborn Church of Christ, Dec. 8, 1914
	Native American Church, Oct. 10, 1918 amended: Oct. 29, 1919 amended: April 24, 1934 amended: June 5, 1955 amended: April 8, 1949
	Native American Church of North America, April 7, 1950 amended: Oct. 12, 1955
South Dakota	Native Americans' [sic] Church of Allen, Oct., 1922 amended (to "Native American Church of South Dakota"?): Nov. 28, 1924

South Dakota (Cont.)

Native American Church of Charles Mix County,
Nov. 28, 1922
amended: Jan 18, 1934

Native American Church of St. Charles, Feb. 20, 1924

Native American Church of Rosebud, July 26, 1924
amended: May 31, 1950

Native American Church of Washabaugh County,
March 14, 1928

Native American Church of St. Francis, Jan. 10, 1935

Native American Church of Buffalo County, July 18,
1935

Native American Church of Porcupine, March 20,
1936

Native American Church of Sisseton, Jan. 14, 1939

Native American Church of Norris, April 4, 1939

Texas Native American Church of the United States, Nov.
 21, 1946

Utah Native American Church of the State of Utah, June
 23, 1945

Wisconsin Native American Church, Cross-Fire-Place, in the
 State of Wisconsin, Jan. 6, 1939

 White Cross Native American Church, Dec. 5, 1939

 Native American Church, Half-Moon Fire-Place,
 State of Wisconsin, Inc., Oct. 13, 1953

Canada

Saskatchewan Native American Church of Canada, Nov. 3, 1954

American Church became the dominant Peyotist organization in Oklahoma, with branches in various tribes. Koshiway and others left the Firstborn Church and joined the new association;²¹ but not all members followed him and the Firstborn Church still exists.

Groups in the other states have followed suit, obtaining their own state charters (Table 6).

Incorporation did not solve the problem. Peyotists found themselves confronted by the continuing and highly organized opposition of the Bureau and missionary societies, both of which were national organizations. Therefore the Native American Church has attempted to obtain a national charter from Congress since 1923 (Burke 1923). In addition, the White national organization complex had been adopted by Indians early in the 20th century (see Chapter V, Section B). And presumably the agitation preceding the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 helped to precipitate matters. So in 1934 it was decided that the best defense would be a national organization of Peyotists, and the Oklahoma articles of incorporation were amended to permit the affiliation of out-of-state branches.²² After a decade of organizational activity on a national scale, the Oklahoma articles of incorporation were further amended in 1944 so that the association became a national organization with the name of "The Native American Church of the United States" (Table 7).²³ The first national conference of this organization was held in 1945.

At the end of 1946 a split arose in Oklahoma between the proponents of the national organization and those interested solely in state matters. The state group obtained the 1918 charter, which they amended in 1949 back to the original name of "Native American Church." The national group incorporated as "The Native American Church of the United States" in Oklahoma in 1950,²⁴ changed to "The Native American Church of North America" in 1955.

At present the international organization is a very loose federation. It reflects the Indian form of interest group, which traditionally is small, autonomous, and informally organized. Not all Peyotist groups are affiliated. Some affiliates are state organizations, others are denominational associations (i.e., based upon some Peyotist variant), and many are local groups.

The current policy of the international officers (see Plate 7) is to keep the organization a loose confederacy as is traditional to Indians. Its purpose is conceived to be the means of effective interaction between all Peyotist groups in North America, so that information can be transmitted, decisions reached, and collective action taken, in a coordinated manner. Only by such a combined and organized defense will Peyote be saved for the Indian.

To sum up, the thesis of this section is that as a response to organized White anti-Peyotism, local Peyotist groups of the traditional Plains society type have developed an international church organization based upon the White pattern.

Table 7

OFFICERS OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH
OF NORTH AMERICA
1944-55

President

1944	Mack Haag (Southern Cheyenne), Calumet, Oklahoma
1946	Allen P. Dale (Omaha), Vinita, Oklahoma
1948	Allen P. Dale (Omaha), Vinita, Oklahoma
1950	Allen P. Dale (Omaha), Vinita, Oklahoma
1952	Allen P. Dale (Omaha), Vinita, Oklahoma
1954	Allen P. Dale (Omaha), Vinita, Oklahoma

Vice President

1944	Frank Takes Gun (Crow), Crow Agency, Montana
1946	Frank Takes Gun (Crow), Crow Agency, Montana
1948	Frank Takes Gun (Crow), Crow Agency, Montana
1950	Frank Takes Gun (Crow), Crow Agency, Montana
1952	Frank Takes Gun (Crow), Crow Agency, Montana
1954	Teles R. Romero (Taos), New Mexico

Treasurer

1944	Joe Kaulity (Kiowa), Mountain View, Oklahoma
1946	Willie Carpenter (Shawnee), White Oak, Oklahoma
1948	Ben Chaletsin (Kiowa Apache), Apache, Oklahoma
1950	Jesse Rowlodge (Southern Arapaho), Geary, Oklahoma
1952	Ben Chaletsin (Kiowa Apache), Apache, Oklahoma
1954	Reubin De Roin (Oto), Morrison, Oklahoma

Secretary

1944	Truman W. Dailey (Oto), Red Rock, Oklahoma
1946	Truman W. Dailey (Oto), Red Rock, Oklahoma
1948	Truman W. Dailey (Oto), Red Rock, Oklahoma
1950	Woodrow Wilson (Southern Cheyenne), Thomas, Oklahoma
1952	Woodrow Wilson (Southern Cheyenne), Thomas, Oklahoma
1954	Marjorie Williams (Winnebago), Mauston, Wisconsin

Delegate At Large

1944	Alfred Wilson (Southern Cheyenne), Thomas, Oklahoma
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Delegate At Large (Cont.)

1945	Allen P. Dale (Elected after death of Wilson)
1946	Harry Funmaker (Winnebago), Lyndon Station, Wisconsin
1948	?
1950	Robert Yellowtail (Crow), Crow Agency, Montana
1952	Robert Yellowtail (Crow), Crow Agency Montana
1954	Charles J. Springer (Omaha), Macy, Nebraska J. S. Slotkin (quasi-Menomini), Chicago, Illinois Floyd White Eagle (Winnebago), Wisconsin Dells, Wisconsin.

B. RELIGIOUS DEFENSES

Since Peyotism, as a syncretistic religion, contains many White religious traits, emphasizing these traits makes it easier for Peyotists to defend their religion against White proponents of cultural uniformity. Peyotists maintain that Peyotism is essentially similar to White religions; in fact, that it simply is one among the innumerable variants of Christianity. The following are the common religious arguments found in Peyotist apologetics:

(a) Peyotists worship the same God that the Whites do.¹ Further, adoption of the Trinity makes Peyotism a Christian religion. As a matter of fact, in the latter respect Peyotism is more orthodox than White Christian variants such as Unitarianism.

(b) The Ten Commandments (Exodus, 20: 1-17) and the Golden Rule (Matthew, 7:12. Luke, 6:31) have been adopted into Peyote ethic. Thus Peyotism has the same official ethics as other variants of Christianity.²

(c) Almost all local groups and intertribal organizations consider themselves as belonging to the Native American Church. The word "church" is used to demonstrate that the ritual associations of Peyotists are equivalent to those of Whites, and that Peyotism is a Christian religion on a par with White variants.³

(d) Peyotists point out essential similarities between their ritual and that of White Christian variants.⁴ In this area acculturation and accommodation interact. Some traits originally seem to have been accepted in the process of acculturation, and later were found useful for purposes of accommodation; others originally seem to have been adopted for purposes of accommodation and later were found acceptable. It is hard to differentiate between the two circumstances of diffusion.

(1) Both Indians and Whites offer extensive prayers to God.⁵

(2) Both have sacraments by which supernatural power is incorporated by the communicant. For Whites it is bread and wine; for Indians, Peyote, water, and the foods of the "Peyote breakfast" (corn, meat, and fruit). Peyote's ritual use as a sacrament is offered by Peyotists as perhaps the strongest defense against its prohibition.⁶

(3) Some groups place the Bible on the altar, and quote from it during the rite. (The New Testament is used much more than the Old Testament.) These groups point to their use of the Bible as a certain demonstration of their similarity to White Christian variants.

(e) The sacred book of the Whites is quoted in justification of Peyote. One reference is cited universally:⁷

Him that is weak in faith [i.e., the Indian who does not know God] receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations. For one believeth that he may eat all things: another, who is weak [i.e., the Indian vis-a-vis the White], eateth herbs [i.e., Peyote]. Let not him that eateth [Peyote] despise him that eateth not [i.e., the non-Peyotist Christian]; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath received him [i.e., the Peyotist] (Romans, 14.1-3).

Some of the other passages quoted in Peyotist apologetics are:⁸

God said, Let the earth bring forth . . . the herb [i.e., Peyote] (Genesis, 1.11).

And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb [and particularly Peyote] (Genesis, 1.29).

God made . . . every herb of the field [including Peyote] (Genesis, 2.4-5).

. . . even as the green herb have I given you all things (Genesis, 9.3).

. . . with bitter herbs [i.e., Peyote] they shall eat it (Exodus, 12.8; cf. Numbers, 9.11).

He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man (Psalms, 104.14).

For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root [i.e., Peyote] out of a dry ground (Isaiah, 53.2).

. . . if the root be holy (Romans, 11.16).

But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee (Romans, 11.18).

Because of the above passages, Peyote is often referred to as an "herb" or "root". In prayers it is commonly called a "comforter," having reference to the following passage:

. . . the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you (John, 14.26).

Such quoting of the Bible infuriates White anti-Peyotists in general and missionaries in particular. Its effectiveness lies in the fact this Indian use of the Bible is identical with that of White fundamentalists—relying upon the King James translation, and quoting both in and out of context—so that if one denies the validity of this way of citing scripture by Indians, he is also denying the validity of such citation by the White fundamentalists from whom they adopted it.

C. MEDICAL DEFENSES

Two kinds of medical arguments are found in Peyotist apologetics, one positive and the other negative.

The positive argument deals with the curing properties of Peyote. Innumerable cases are recounted of invalids who have tried in vain all available Indian and White medicines, have resorted to Peyote in their extremity, and been cured. Another common statement is that Peyote usually cures its adherents of a desire for alcohol.¹

The negative argument is against the White categorization of Peyote as a narcotic, intoxicant, or drug (whatever "drug" may mean to the White using it as a term of opprobrium). Peyotists deny that any authenticated cases of Peyote intoxication or addiction have been found. Occasionally they have volunteered to cooperate in a scientific investigation of Peyote, but this offer has always been ignored.²

VII / MODERN PEYOTISM

There are many descriptions of the external aspects of Peyote rites by outsiders, and a few fragmentary statements by Peyotists. This chapter is an attempt to present Peyotism from the viewpoint of Peyotists, but in a way Whites can understand. This is not easy to do. It requires making explicit and systematizing a religion which is largely implicit and unsystematized. And that religion, which obtains its meanings in terms of one ethnic group's customs, has to be described in a manner which will convey similar meanings in terms of another ethnic group's customs.

No officially promulgated Peyotist doctrine can be presented, for the religion is relatively individualistic. So the following account is based upon my own knowledge about, and acquaintance with, Peyotism. (My qualifications are six years of study and writing on the subject. I have surveyed the literature; discussed Peyotism with lay members and most of the important leaders throughout the country, as well as with other anthropologists who have studied the matter; and participated myself, first as an observer, later as a member, and finally as a local and international officer.) In addition, this account has been reviewed by all officers of the Native American Church of North America.

Peyotism north of the Rio Grande in the 20th century has taken the form of the Peyote Religion exclusively, rather than the old Peyote complex. In addition, we have seen that the independent groups of the Peyote Religion have federated into the Native American Church during the 20th century, like the independent congregations of the Jesus Cult federated into the Catholic Church during the 4th century. However, just as not all congregations accepting the basic doctrines of Christianity belonged to the Catholic Church, so not all groups accepting the basic doctrines of Peyotism belong to the Native American Church. Therefore it is convenient to speak generally of both Christianity and Peyotism here.

Peyotism has the fundamental traits found in all religions: a doctrine, ethics, and ritual. Most Peyotists consider themselves to be Christians, for they conceive Peyotism to be the Indian version of Christianity. Their proof of this is that they accept the Christian Trinity and Christian ethics.

A. DOCTRINE

(Peyotist doctrine, or religious theory, consists a belief in the existence of power, spirits, and incarnations of power.)

1. Power

Power is the Indian equivalent of what the Greek New Testament calls pneuma ("Holy Spirit," "Holy Ghost"), and anthropologists, "mana". It is an immaterial and invisible supernatural force, which produces characteristic effects in things influenced by it, and can be transferred from one thing to another under the proper ritual conditions. Man needs power in order to be successful and healthy; without it he becomes unsuccessful and ill.

2. Spirits

Spirits are immaterial personifications of power. The Peyotist pantheon consist of what may be called White and Indian spirits.

(a) White spirits

(1) The Trinity

(a) God is equated with the Great Spirit. He is universally acknowledged to be the supreme being, and the ultimate source of all power; therefore he controls the destiny of everything in the universe, including man. Whether he is the creator spirit as well depends upon the tribe.

(b) Jesus plays various roles. In some tribes he is the culture hero (often equated with the traditional culture hero) who gave the White version of Christianity to the Whites and Peyotism to the Indians. In other tribes he is a guardian spirit who, rejected by the Whites who murdered him, now looks after the equally rejected Indians. Another of Jesus' roles is that of intercessor spirit between God and man.

(c) The Holy Ghost has been adopted as part of the Trinity. But Peyotists have the same difficulty as Whites in giving an adequate explanation of it.

(2) Other White spirits

(a) The Devil plays a minor role, in spite of the fact that many tribes traditionally believed in a cosmic dualism and evil spirits. For the few Peyotists who are concerned with devils, they are evil spirits who injure people physically and spiritually from outside the body, or as foreign objects within the body. They are not conceived as personifying evil temptations inherent in the flesh.

(b) Angels are often equated with various minor spirits—particularly with those of the four winds or cardinal points. They are sometimes conceived as looking like Indians in traditional Indian costume; at other times they are believed to be White, with white wings and white flowing robes. They are given various roles: as na-

ture spirits, guardian spirits, intercessor spirits, or messenger spirits sent by God to appear in the visions of Peyotists.

b) Indian spirits

(1) Waterbird is usually identified as the water turkey (Anhinga anhinga). It is equated with the Indian Thunderbird who brings rain; or the White dove, a symbol either of the Holy Spirit, or of peace, goodwill, and love. The Waterbird also has the role of a messenger spirit who carried man's prayers to God.

(2) In many tribes Peyote itself is personified as Peyote Spirit. Some tribes conceive of Peyote Spirit as generally similar to the guardian spirit aspect of Jesus in White Christianity; he is a compassionate being, always benevolent, sympathetic, and helpful. Other tribes conceive of Peyote Spirit as a messenger spirit between man and God.

(3) Peyotists believe in the existence of various traditional spirits, differing from tribe to tribe. But these are survivals, and not an integral part of Peyotism.

3. Incarnations

Incarnations are material embodiments of power.

Peyote is the prime incarnation. It was given to the Indians by God because he took pity on them for being a subject people—poor, weak, helpless, and ignorant. (In general, this conception is similar to the Beatitudes of White Christianity in Matthew, 5.3-12). God made the Peyote cactus (Lophophora williamsii), and put some of his power into it, in order to help the Indians. Therefore when one eats Peyote he absorbs the power inherent in it, which he can then utilize. Thus it is a sacrament like the bread and wine of White Christians, which are consumed in order to absorb the Holy Spirit inherent in them.

The characteristics of the plant are such that when taken internally it produces remarkable physiological and psychological effects. From the supernaturalistic viewpoint of Indian Peyotists, these properties consist of the power within the Peyote; when the sacramental plant is taken internally, this power is absorbed and affects the individual's spiritual and physical state. From the naturalistic viewpoint of White scientists, these properties consist of alkaloids; when the alkaloids are taken internally they affect the central nervous system.

The next most important incarnation of power is the water drunk during the rite at midnight and in the morning. Water is needed by all living things, and therefore all water is sacred. In addition, the water used in the rite is prayed over and "blessed", so that it acquires additional power. The morning water is particularly sacred

because it is brought in, and prayed over, by the wife or other close female relative of the leader. She represents womanhood as the source of human life (she symbolizes "the mother of us all"), and in some tribes also Peyote Woman to whom the rite was revealed.

The foods used in the morning communion "breakfast" (usually corn, game, and fruit) also contain power, for they represent the important categories of foods man needs for life.

B. ETHICS AND ESCHATOLOGY

The Peyotist ethical code constitutes a way of life called the "Peyote Road," and conforming to the ethic is "following the Peyote Road". This ethic has four main parts. (The mores adopted from the surrounding lower class rural Whites are taken for granted.)

- + (a) Brotherly love. Members should be honest, truthful, friendly, and helpful to one another. This is conceived as a spelling out of the Golden Rule (Matthew, 7.12; Luke, 6.31).
- + (b) Care of family. Married people should not engage in extra-marital affairs, and should cherish and care for one another, and their children. Money should be spent on the family as a whole, rather than selfishly.
- + (c) Self-reliance. Members should work steadily and reliably at their jobs, and earn their own living.
- + (d) Avoidance of alcohol. There is a maxim, "Peyote and alcohol don't mix".

The Peyote Road is learned in various ways. The beginner learns about the code informally from older members. Some tribes include within the rite the formal preaching of ethical doctrine. But most important of all, after one eats Peyote the Peyote itself teaches him what should or should not be done, either by ethical revelation in a vision, or by sensitizing his conscience. This is summed up in the maxim, "Peyote enlightens your heart and mind".

Traditionally, the Indians mores were reinforced by various supernatural sanctions applied both in this life and the next. If a person follows the Peyote Road faithfully—with Peyote always ready to guide, help, and comfort him on the way—it will lead him to tranquility in this life (and such material goods as health, long life, and the well being of children and grandchildren), and bliss in the next world (in association with his loved ones and God.)

C. RITUAL

Every religion has a ritual, a body of supernaturalistic practices by which its doctrine is applied.

There are intertribal and intratribal variants of the Peyote rite, but from the point of view of the Native American Church of the United States these are inconsequential. As Allen Dale (Omaha) once said, "All fireplaces [i.e., altar variants] are man made." The different "fireplaces" are the equivalent of White Protestant denominations. But one point all Peyotists agree upon and emphasize: irrespective of variants, the Peyote rite is an Indian form of worship. In fact, a common statement is, "This Peyote Religion is the only thing left to us Indians". Such Pan-Indianism and nativism has given rise to a remarkably stable trait complex.

Characteristically, but not always, the rite is held in a Plains type cloth tipi temporarily erected for the occasion, usually with an east entrance. The tipi is an Indian kind of house of worship; it is also the best the poor Indian can afford, in contrast with the luxurious permanent church buildings of the Whites.

The rite, called a "meeting", is an all-night ceremony, usually lasting from about 8:00 p.m. on Saturday to 8:00 a.m. on Sunday. All-night rites are an Indian custom; also, the poor Indians need so much from God that they have to work hard at their religion, as opposed to the Whites who have so much they can manage with only a few easy hours of worship.

The worshippers sit on the ground, both because this is the Indian way ("close to Mother Earth"), and because they are not wealthy enough to worship in comfort like the Whites.

The altar, called the "fireplace", is also Indian. It occupies the central portion within the tipi, and usually consists of the following: (a) The Moon, a crescent or horseshoe shaped mound of earth. It has a line along the top which symbolizes the Peyote Road. (b) The Peyote Chief, a large and attractive Peyote button resting on the center of the Moon. This is equivalent to the cross on a White Christian altar, though a few tribes use a cross in addition. (c) The fire, made of firewood arranged in a V-shape. (d) A cloth on which the leader places some of the paraphernalia.

The paraphernalia or "tools" used in the rite are Indian. They usually consist of the Peyote Chief, cloth, an eaglebone whistle, cedar incense, a "fan" made from a bird's tail feathers, a staff, a bundle of sage sprigs, a gourd rattle, and waterdrum and drumstick. All except the drum and staff are carried in a special case. When attending the rite members wear symbolic pins and other jewelry made of silver or beadwork. A characteristic Peyote art style has developed for decorating ritual artifacts.

The rite employs Indian types of officials, selected for a given meeting. Usually there are four, but the number may vary from three to five. They are:

- (a) The Leader, also known as the Roadman or Chief. He is selected by the person or persons who "put up the meeting". Unlike the Indian shaman or White minister he is not an intermediary between spirits and laymen. He simply conducts the rite; "he is in

charge of the meeting". He appoints the other officials, supplies most of the paraphernalia used during the rite, determines how the rite is to be performed, and directs it. Symbolically, he leads the worshippers along the Peyote Road to the good life both in this world and the next. The leader sits opposite the entrance to the tipi. Men become Peyote leaders in three ways:

(1) The individual or group giving the rite may select any knowledgeable man to conduct the rite for them. He has attended often enough to know the ritual details; anyway, he can be confident that "Peyote will teach him what to do". This is the custom among the Menomini, for example (Slotkin 1952).

(2) An individual receives a vision in which a particular way of performing the rite is revealed to him. After that he simply follows his revelation. The classic case is that of John Wilson (Speck 1933).

(3) An individual is taught the details of the rite by one already a leader. This is conceived to be obtaining the privilege of performing that particular variant of the rite—either by tuition, gift, or inheritance. It is the commonest method of becoming a leader.

(b) The Drum Chief or Drummer sits to the right of the leader, and drums for the latter when he sings.

(c) There may or may not be a Cedar Chief or Cedar Man to put cedar incense on the fire. He sits to the left of the leader.

(d) The Fire Chief or Fireman cares for the fire, keeps the altar clean, and in general acts as a combination steward and sergeant-at-arms. He may have an assistant. The fire chief sits at the entrance of the tipi.

The form of the rite is Indian. Mooney's account given in Chapter III is as good a summary description as any. Essentially the rite has four major components: prayer, singing, eating the sacramental Peyote, and contemplation.

Prayer is strongly nativistic. One always prays in his or her own Indian language, even if the rest of the rite is conducted in English. Also, the Indian spoken prayer is spontaneous, "from the heart". By contrast, among the Whites some smart man writes down a prayer which is then printed, and others simply look in a book and repeat the prayer with their lips.

Most of the ritual time is taken up by the rounds of songs, which are also prayers. In every round each man sings four songs, holding the staff, fan, and sage in his left hand, and rattling with the gourd held in his right hand; the man next to him accompanies him on the water drum. The songs are the equivalent of White Christian hymns; the drum, gourd, and whistle, of the White organ and bells. Most of the songs have texts consisting of what Whites call "meaningless" syllables, though they have a characteristic phonemic pattern. A minority of songs—the number varying with the tribe—have texts in

one's own or other languages. But actually all the texts have meanings which are learned in one's own language through Peyote. This is similar to the White phenomenon of the gift of tongues (Acts, 2. 1-15).

Before the singing starts the sacramental Peyote is passed around for the first time, the leader directing the people each to take a stated amount—most often four, less often two. Later the Peyote is again passed around at various times during the rite, each person taking as much as desired. The tribes near the source of supply usually prefer the "green" (i.e., fresh) Peyote plant without the root; the more distant tribes are limited to the dried Peyote button. In the latter case, the buttons are sometimes crumbled and steeped in water to produce "Peyote tea", which is drunk.

The reasons for choosing Peyote as a sacrament can best be explained in terms of the fourth component of the rite, namely, contemplation. For after eating Peyote each worshipper spends most of his time in contemplation; any given individual spends relatively little time in solo singing and drumming. What does he contemplate about, and why does he need Peyote to help him do so? ✓ 61

(a) As in the case of any other sacrament, the worshipper eats Peyote under the proper ritual conditions in order to obtain power to commune effectively with God and the other spirits. That is why the amount of Peyote taken during a rite depends upon the solemnity of the occasion: the more serious the rite, the greater the amount of Peyote imbibed. It also explains why "Peyote always goes ahead of the songs," for, as we have seen, the songs are prayers. Perhaps the most important element in contemplation is concentration on such communion. For in all religions the purpose of communion is to lift the worshipper from the commonplace level of mundane existence to the exalted level of spiritual sublimity; this is what students of religion mean when they speak of "the religious thrill". Thus when the Indian Peyotist consumes the sacramental Peyote it is like the White Christian consuming the sacramental bread and wine.

(b) In the culture areas under consideration, the traditional Indian means of obtaining the power needed for a successful and healthy life was through the vision quest. The individual went off in isolation, often subjected himself to ordeals so that he would be pitied, and prayed for assistance, until some spirit appeared in a vision and gave him personal power. Peyotism changes the traditional pattern somewhat. The individual participates in a collective rite, but he spends most of the time in contemplation—he is in a collective isolation, as it were. Two features exist which are Peyotist equivalents of the traditional ordeal. Most people do not find Peyote pleasant to take; "It is hard to eat Peyote". In addition, they find it difficult to sit on the ground all night in one position; "It is hard to sit through a meeting". The prayer for assistance is important; one prays that

God and the other spirits will take pity on him, and help him, through Peyote. But this is elaborated in Peyotism, so that it becomes necessary to be in the proper spiritual and psychological state when eating Peyote. Spiritually, one must be conscious of his personal inadequacy, humble, sincere in wanting to obtain the benefits of Peyote, and concentrate on it.

As was stated earlier in this chapter, Peyote has remarkable physiological and psychological characteristics, so that when taken under the proper conditions the worshipper experiences a revelation. In most cases the revelation takes the form of a vision, in which one sees and/or hears a spirit. In some cases the revelation takes the form of a mystical state, the unification of all immediate experience with God. In either circumstance the individual has a vividly direct experience of what has been revealed, qualitatively different from inference or hearsay, which is so characteristic of revelation in all societies.¹ Therefore the Peyotist is an individualist and an empiricist; he believes only what he himself has experienced. "The only way to find out about Peyote is to take it and learn from Peyote yourself." It may be interesting to know what others have to say; but all that really matters is what one has directly experienced—what has been revealed to him personally by Peyote.

exp.

The traditional visions brought individual power; by contrast, Peyotist revelations afford socialized help. Usually the visions consist of God, Jesus or some other spirit presenting a revelation depending upon the personality and problems of the individual. The following are typical: He may be comforted by seeing or hearing some previously unexperienced item in the Peyote doctrine, or departed loved ones now in a happy existence. He may be guided on the one hand by being shown the way to solve some problem in daily life; on the other hand, he may be reproved for evil thoughts and deeds, and warned to repent. In general, they are similar to the visions seen by lower class rural Whites, but much commoner.

Peyotist revelations should not be strange to Whites. Mysticism has been an important tradition throughout the history of White Western culture,² and visions have the authority of both the Old and New Testaments behind them.

And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions. (Joel, 2.28; quoted Acts, 2.17)

(c) Peyote is also eaten as an aid to contemplation; through it one obtains increased powers of concentration and introspection.

(1) The worshipper concentrates on communion and revelation in order to obtain the maximum from them.

(2) On behalf of himself and others, he prays silently or aloud, concentrating as hard as he can in order to procure the attention and acquiescence of the spirits to whom the prayer is direc-

ted. Under certain circumstances this technique also is applied to other participants in the rite. In general this is equivalent to the mental telepathy of Whites.

(3) Peyote heightens introspection and sensitizes the conscience. The worshipper examines his life meticulously to see where he has strayed from the Peyote Road because of evil thoughts and deeds. He then confesses his sins, and promises to repent and discipline himself. (At present this confession is usually made in silence, but occasionally aloud; a few decades ago open confession prevailed.)

Peyotists express these results of contemplation after consuming the sacramental Peyote as "learning from Peyote". Used properly in this way, Peyote is an inexhaustible teacher. A stock statement is, "You can use Peyote all your life, but you'll never learn all there is to know about Peyote. Peyote is always teaching you something new." Another common way of stating this point is to say, "The White man, who knows how to read, learns God's way from the Bible. The Indian, who doesn't know how to read, learns God's way from Peyote."

As a consequence of this nature of the Peyote rite, one of the personality types attracted to Peyotism is the intellectually curious, sensitive, and introspective individual. These people learn to identify each other, and soon develop warm feelings of comradeship.

So far we have considered the Peyote rite proper, i.e., the meeting. But Peyote is also used ritually in other ways.

The most important of these is as a means of divine healing. It is believed to be a catholicon, or universal panacea. Other medicines, both Indian and White, are good for particular disease. Peyote is good for all ills, spiritual as well as bodily. The Peyotist etiology is based upon traditional Indian beliefs. Disease is produced either by insufficient power or by a foreign object. Sickness can therefore be cured in three ways. First, the sick person eats enough Peyote to absorb the amount of power needed to restore health. Second, in more serious cases one prays to God and other spirits to give the patient added power, over and above that which is obtained from eating the Peyote. The invalid may do this for himself; but in the most serious illnesses a doctoring meeting is held, so that others can help pray for the required power. Third, the sick person may vomit as a result of eating Peyote. In this way the foreign object which caused the disease is ejected from the body; the patient then eats more Peyote in order to obtain the power necessary to restore health. (Vomiting also purges one of spiritual uncleanness.)

Another ritual use of Peyote is in the form of amulets, which are used in the same way that White Catholics use medals, and others use good luck tokens. A Peyote button—of the kind used as Peyote Chief—is usually enclosed in a little buckskin bag suspended from thongs, and worn around the neck. (In the last few decades this has been particularly popular among young men in the armed forces.) Some people keep an amulet at home in order to protect the household. In either case the power in the Peyote amulet helps to protect

the owner and everything in the vicinity.

To conclude, Peyote is customarily used in three ways: as a sacrament, healer, and amulet. In one performance of the rite I heard an excellent summary of the reasons for using Peyote; during the morning water prayer Mrs. Grace Dale (Shawnee) referred to Peyote as "the comfort, healer, and guide of us poor Indians". In this chapter I have tried to present in White terms Peyotism as viewed by its adherents. If successful, the reader will now understand the significance of her statement.

APPENDIX
SOME IMPORTANT PEOPLE
IN THE HISTORY OF PEYOTISM

Bull Bear, Jock (1863-1929)

Southern Arapaho

Photograph: Stenberg 1946: 146

Biographical information: Bull Bear 1918. Mooney 1918a: 103,
106

Dale, Allen P. (1896-)

Father: Omaha. Mother: Omaha and Ponca

Photograph: Nye 1954: sec. 2:1

Autobiographical information: "I finished high school at Haskell around 1915, and I had a year of commercial work in 1916-17 [at the same institution]. Then I enlisted in the army from June 1917 up to June 1919.

"I attended my first [Peyote] meeting in 1908 at the Omaha reservation. I was 12 years old then. From then on I attended meetings every so often when I'd come back from school. Around 1923 I took active part in the church—that is, I attended meetings regularly. And 1941, it is, I begun to take part in organizational church activities in the state of Oklahoma. During the first discussion of the national organization I was very active in it, and I was appointed delegate at large in 1945 to replace Alfred Wilson at his death. In 1946 I was elected to the presidency of the organization."

Hensley, Albert (1872-1937)

Nebraska Winnebago

Photograph: Radin 1923: pl. 8d.

Autobiographical information: Hensley ca. 1909

Koshiway, Jonathan (Jack) 1886—

Father: Sauk and Fox. Mother: Oto

Photograph: La Barre 1938: pl. 1a

Biographical information: La Barre 1938: 167-70

Quanah [Parker] (ca. 1845-1911)

Father: Comanche. Mother: White

Photograph: Wallace & Hoebel 1952: pl. facing p. 238

Biographical information W. J. Ghent, "Quanah," Dictionary of American Biography (New York, Scribner, 1928-44), XV, p. 294. Tilghman 1938.

Rave, John (ca. 1855-1917)

Nebraska Winnebago

Photograph: Radin 1923: pls. 5b, 55b

Autobiographical information: Rave 1912

Wilson, Alfred (Alfred Bull) (1878-1945)

Southern Cheyenne

Photograph: La Barre 1938: pl. 1b

Biographical information Collier 1947: 238-42

Wilson; John (Nishkuntu: "Moon Head") (ca. 1840-1901)*1

1/2 Delaware, 1/4 Caddo, 1/4 French

Photograph: J. R. Swanton, Source Material on the History and Ethnology of Caddo Indians (Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology 132) (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942), pl. 4, no. 2

Biographical information: Speck 1933. La Barre 1938: 151-61.

*Not to be confused with Jack Wilson (Wovoka: "The Cutter") (ca. 1856-1932), the Paviotso innovator of the Ghost Dance.

PREFACE

1. Slotkin 1955.
2. Slotkin 1952.
3. G. P. Murdock, Ethnographic Bibliography of North America, New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, 1953, 2nd ed.
4. A. L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America (U. of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 38), Berkeley, U. of California Press, 1939.

CHAPTER I

1. This theoretical exposition is necessarily brief. To a large extent it is based upon a background represented by the following works:

Balandier, G., "Messianismes et nationalismes en Afrique noire," Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, 14 (1953), pp. 41-65.

Berry, B., Race Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1951.

Blumer, H., "Collective Behavior," in A. M. Lee, ed., Principles of Sociology (New York, Barnes & Noble, 1951, rev. ed.), pp. 165-222.

Brown, W. O., "The Emergence of Race Consciousness," Sociology and Social Research, 15 (1930-31), pp. 428-36.
"The Nature of Race Consciousness," Social Forces, 10 (1931-32), pp. 90-97.

Cantril, H., The Psychology of Social Movements, New York, Wiley, 1941.

Elkin, A. P., "The Reaction of Primitive Races to the White Man's Culture," Hibbert Journal, 35 (1936-37), pp. 537-45.

Francis, E. K., "The Nature of the Ethnic Group," American Journal of Sociology, 52 (1946-47), pp. 393-400.
"Variables in the Formation of So-Called 'Minority Groups,'" ibid., 60 (1954-55), pp. 6-14.

Gennep, A. van. Traité comparatif des nationalités, Paris, Payot, 1922.

Goldberg, M. M., "A Qualification of the Marginal Man Theory," American Sociological Review, 6 (1941), pp. 52-58.

Handman, M. S., "The Sentiment of Nationalism," Political Science Quarterly, 36 (1921), pp. 104-21.

Heberle, R., Social Movements, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951.

Hertz, F. O., Nationality in History and Politics, London, Routledge & Paul, 1951, 3rd ed.

Linton, R., "Nativistic Movements," American Anthropologist, 45 (1943), pp. 230-40.

Park, R. E., Race and Culture, ed. E. C. Hughes, Glencoe, Free Press, 1950.

Simmel, G., Sociology, tr. K. H. Wolff (Glencoe, Free Press, 1950), pp. 179-303.

Slotkin, J. S., "The Status of the Marginal Man," Sociology and Social Research, 28 (1943-44), pp. 47-54.

Social Anthropology, New York, Macmillan, 1950.

"An Intertribal Dancing Contest," Journal of American Folklore, 68 (1955), pp. 224-28.

Stonequist, E. V., The Marginal Man, New York, Scribner, 1937.

Ware, C. F., "Ethnic Communities," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (New York, Macmillan, 1930-35), V, pp. 607-13.

Wirth, L., "Types of Nationalism," American Journal of Sociology, 41 (1935-36), pp. 723-37.

"The Problem of Minority Groups," in R. Linton, ed., The Science of Man in the World Crisis (New York, Columbia U. Press, 1945), pp. 347-72.

Znaniecki, F., Modern Nationalities, Urbana, U. of Illinois Press, 1952.

2. E. J. Lindgren, "An Example of Culture Contact without Conflict: Reindeer Tungus and Cossacks of Northwestern Manchuria," American Anthropologist, 40 (1938), pp. 605-21.

3. B. W. Doyle, The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South, Chicago, U. of Chicago Press, 1937.

3a. H. H. Ringe, et al., Negroes in the United States: Their Employment and Economic Status (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin, 1119), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1952.

4. J. Roscoe, The Bakitara, (Cambridge, Cambridge U. Press, 1923), p. 12, et passim.

5. E. P. Dozier, The Hopi-Tewa of Arizona (U. of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 44. 3), Berkeley, U. of California Press, 1954.

6. M. Hunter [Wilson], Reaction to Conquest, London, Oxford U. Press, 1936.

7. L. Lewisohn, Up Stream, New York, Boni & Liveright, 1922.
Mid-Channel, New York, Harper, 1929. Israel, New York, Boni & Liveright, 1925.

8. A. H. Silver, A History of Messianic Speculations in Israel, New York, Macmillan, 1927.

CHAPTER II

Section A

1. The classic exposition of White American nationalism, social assimilation, and cultural uniformity, is F. Lieber, Fragments of Political Science on Nationalism and Inter-Nationalism, New York, Scribner, 1868.

2. T. Jefferson, "Letter to W. H. Garrison, Feb. 27, 1803," in U.S. Department of State, Territorial Papers of the United States, ed. C. E. Carter (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1934---), VII, pp. 88-92.

3. U.S. Statutes at Large, 4 (1824-35), pp. 411-12.

4. Ibid., pp. 729-35.

5. U.S. Constitution [1787], ed. E. S. Corwin (U.S. Congress, Documents and Reports, ser. 11,592, no. 170) (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1953), 1.8.3,18; 2.2.2.

6. C. W. Thorntnwaite, Internal Migration in the United States, Philadelphia, U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1934.

7. "The result of the year's campaign satisfied all sensible men that war with Indians was both useless and expensive. Fifteen or twenty Indians had been killed, at an expense of more than a million dollars apiece, while hundreds of our soldiers had lost their lives, many of our border settlers been butchered, and much property destroyed. . . .

"If it be said that because they are savages they should be exterminated, we answer that, aside from the humanity of the suggestion, it will prove exceedingly difficult, and if money considerations are permitted to weigh, it costs less to civilize than to kill."
 —U.S. Indian Peace Commission, Report (U.S. Congress, Documents and Reports, ser. 1337, no. 97) (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1868), pp. 9, 15.

8. A. H. H. Stuart, "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," p. 502; in U.S. President, Message and Accompanying Documents, 1851, Pt. 2, pp. 489-519.

9. W. P. Dole, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 5; in U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1863, pp. 5-40.

At first the plan was to place all reservations within the confines of Indian Territory; see C. Delano, "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," pp. 6-8; in U.S. Dept. of Interior, Annual Report, 1871, pp. 3-33. But this policy was abandoned because of the opposition of the northern Plains tribes; see U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, Annual Report, 4 (1872), p. 15. F. A. Walker, The Indian

Question (Boston, Osgood, 1874), p. 73. E. P. Smith, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 12; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1874, pp. 3-83. E. A. Hayt, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," pp. 5-6; in ibid., 1877, pp. 1-27. See R. Gitterer, The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, Berkeley, U. of California Press, 1917.

The first reservation was established in 1789 for the Six Nations in New York; see Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, ed. C. J. Kappler* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904-41; vol. II, rev. ed.), II, pp. 23-25. It is not called a "reservation" in the treaty itself; the term first appears in U.S. Congress, Debates and Proceedings, 1 (1789-91), col. 41 [1789]. A subsequent treaty with the Six Nations in 1794 does use the term; see Kappler, op. cit., II, p. 35.

For the number of reservations established in various years down to the present, see U.S. Congress, House, Committee on the Interior and Insular Affairs, Investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (U.S. Congress, Documents and Reports, ser. 11,582, no. 2503) (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1953), pp. 1559-62; table op. p. 1584, col. 4.

10. "The feeding system adopted with the dangerous and hostile tribes has reduced the loss of life and property to a degree which must be termed inconsiderable. The reservation system withdraws the great body of the Indians from the direct path of our industrial progress, and allows the work of settlement and the extension of our railways to go forward."—C. Delano, "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," p. 4; in U.S. Dept. of Int., Annual Report, 1872, pp. 3-28.

11. U.S. Indian Peace Commission, "Resolutions," in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1868, pp. 371-72. U.S. Grant, "First Annual Message [1869]," pp. 38-39; in U.S. President, A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, ed. J. D. Richardson (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1896-99), VII, pp. 27-42. Grant, "Fifth Annual Message [1873]," p. 252; in ibid., VII, pp. 235-55. U.S. Statutes at Large, 16 (1869-71), p. 40 [1869]. This seems to have been based on an earlier Texas peace policy. See the following:

Marcy, R. B., Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border (New York, Harper, 1866), p. 63.

Koch, L. C., "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas, 1845-1860," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 28 (1924-25), pp. 223-34, 259-86; 29 (1925-26), pp. 19-35, 98-127.

*References are to Kappler rather than to the following better compilation because the latter is not available in Chicago: U.S. Laws, Statutes, etc., Statutory Compilation of the Indian Law Survey, ed. F. S. Cohen, [Washington], U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1940, (mimeographed).

Harmon, G. D., "The United States Indian Policy in Texas, 1845-1860," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 17 (1930-31), pp. 377-403.

12. Walker, The Indian Question, pp. 44-46.

13. R. I. Dodge, Our Wild Indians (Hartford, Worthington, 1882), pp. 70-79.

14. C. Shurz, "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," p. 6; in U.S. Dept. Int., Annual Report, 1879, Pt. 1, pp. 3-67. L. Q. C. Lamar, "Statement," in U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, Annual Report, 17 (1885), pp. 115-16.

15. U.S. Statutes at Large, 16 (1869-71), p. 566.

16. Walker, The Indian Question, p. 115.

17. Ibid., p. 12.

18. U.S. Statutes at Large, 19 (1875-77), p. 293.

19. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1883.

20. "In our intercourse with the Indians it must always be borne in mind that we are the more powerful party. . . . We . . . claim the right to control the soil which they occupy, and we assume that it is our duty to coerce them, if necessary, into the adoption and practice of our habits and customs."—Delano, "Report of the Secretary of the Interior [1872]," pp. 3-4.

21. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Regulations of the Indian Department (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1884), pp. 89-90.

22. Ibid., p. 89.

23. U.S. Statutes at Large, 23 (1883-85), p. 385.

24. "The education of small numbers is overborne and lost in the mass of corrupting and demoralizing surroundings. Children at [the non-reservation boarding] school are hostages for good behavior of parents."—R. H. Pratt, "Report of Special Agent to Collect Indian Youth to be Educated at Hampton Institute, Va.," p. 174; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1878, pp. 173-75.
"Agents are expected to keep the [boarding] schools filled with Indian pupils, first by persuasion; if this fails, then by withholding rations or annuities or by such other means as may reach the desired end."—U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Regulations [1884], p. 94.

A list of non-reservation boarding schools, excluding Hampton Institute, is given in F. A. McKenzie, The Indian in Relation to the White Population of the United States (Columbus, privately printed, 1908, Ph.D. diss.), p. 56.

25. U.S. Superintendent of Indian Schools, Annual Report, 1901, p. 189. G. B. Grinnell, "The Indians and the Outing System," Outlook, 75 (1903), pp. 167-73.

26. "The Indian Bureau has been made the dumping-ground for the sweepings of the political party that is in power."—H. Heth, "Statement," in U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, Annual Report, 21 (1889), p. 139. Cf. Dodge, Our Wild Indians, p. 93.

27. "The missionaries here have kept . . . a type of religious character and feeling . . . which has long been extinct in the modern or cultivated world. . . . Some of the missionaries have a . . . narrowness of view which in nearly all men results from complete absorption in one special province of work and thought."—J. B. Harrison, The Latest Studies on Indian Reservations (Philadelphia, Indian Rights Association, 1887), pp. 134, 181.

Though officially ignored, Mormon missionaries were very influential. The Mormons cultivated the Indians as potential allies against a hostile federal government; see Walker, The Indian Question, pp. 109-11. Also, they believed the Indians to be the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel; see II Kings, 17.6; II Esdras, 13.39-47. The following are a few references to the activities of Mormon missionaries:

Foreman, G., "Missionaries of the Latter Day Saints Church in Indian Territory," Chronicles of Oklahoma, 13 (1935), pp. 196-213.

Hunter, M. R., Brigham Young the Colonizer (Salt Lake City, Deseret News Press, 1940), pp. 290-341.

Mooney, J., "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 14 (1892-93), pt. 2, pp. 703-04, 719, 790, 792, 818.

Roberts, B. H., A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Salt Lake City, Deseret News Press, 1930), V, pp. 102-05, 167-71, 586-89.

28. "Those whites who reside among the Indians of the prairies are not the pioneers of civilization or settlements, but emphatically fugitives from both. . . . They are addicted to all of the lowest and most degrading vices, and soon learn the language sufficiently to teach the Indians lessons in their own school of depravity."—T. S. Twiss, "Report of the Indian Agency of the Upper Platte," pp. 88-89; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1856, pp. 87-94.

29. U.S. Statutes at Large, 24 (1885-87), pp. 388-91.

30. "Allotments are ordered, not with reference generally to the condition of the Indian, but to the greed and demand of the white people about the reservation who wish to secure the surplus land."—C. C. Painter, "The Leasing of Indians' Lands," p. 86; in Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian, Proceedings, 12 (1894), pp. 85-88.

31. C. C. Royce, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 18 (1896-97), pt. 2.

32. "Recent laws permitting Indians to lease their lands are widely resulting in dispossessing ignorant Indians of their property rights, without an adequate return, to their great disadvantage and the enriching of designing white men."—Lake Mohonk Conference, "Platform," p. 149; in Proceedings, 12 (1894), pp. 149-51. Cf. Harrison, The Latest Studies on Indian Reservations, p. 168.

33. U.S. Statutes at Large, 26 (1889-91), p. 1014. Cf. "Rules for Indian Schools," in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1890, pp. cxlvi-clxxi. U.S. Superintendent of Indian Schools, Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1901.

34. "All Indian books have been abolished in the schools, and neither teacher nor pupil are allowed under strictly imposed penalties to use a word of Dakota under any circumstances. In all of the shops notices dignified with the signature of the agent are posted forbidding an Indian word to be used."—W. F. Johnson, The Red Record of the Sioux (Philadelphia, Edgewood, 1891), p. 228.

35. "The tribal relations should be broken up, socialism destroyed, and the family and the autonomy of the individual substituted."—T. J. Morgan, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 4; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1889, pp. 3-91.

"The present idea is to scatter the Indians and discourage their passion for gathering together and holding grand dog-feasts and pow-pows. Such disposition had not been found conducive to the good and quiet of the people. It facilitates the efforts of chiefs and demagogues to inflame them and set them against Christianity and enlightenment."—Indian Rights Association, Annual Report, 10 (1893), p. 29.

36. National Civil Service League, Abuses in the Appointment of Agents in the Indian Service, n. p., National Civil Service League, 1901. C. H. Fahs, "Recruiting and Selecting New Missionaries," in Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, Supplementary Series (New York, Harper, 1933), VII, pp. 1-43.

Section B

1. For the cycle of Indian-White relations on the frontiers see J. C. Ewers, The Role of the Indian in National Expansion (Washington, National Park Service, 1938-39, mimeographed), II, pp. 185-87.

2. "If they stand up against the progress of civilization and industry, they must be relentlessly crushed. The westward course of population is neither to be denied nor delayed for the sake of all the Indians that ever called this country their home. They must yield or perish. . . .

The freedom of expansion . . . is to us of incalculable value. To the Indian it is of incalculable cost. . . . This growth is bringing imperial greatness to the nation; to the Indian it brings wretchedness, destitution, beggary."—F. A. Walker, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," pp. 9-10; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1872, pp. 3-105.

3. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1874, frontis. map. Kappler, Indian Affairs, II.

4. See II A note 9.

5. R. H. Lowie, Indians of the Plains (Anthropological Handbook, 1), New York, McGraw-Hill, 1954.

6. ". . . the white settlers shrewdly voiced their determination to put the Indians on the reservations by the cry: 'Kill off the buffalo and thus kill out the Indians.'"—M. P. Mayhall, The Indians of Texas (MS, Austin, U. of Texas Library, 1939, Ph.D. Diss.), p. 62.

7. W. T. Hornaday, "The Extermination of the American Bison," Annual Report of the U.S. National Museum, 1887, pp. 367-548. H. A. Trexler, "The Buffalo Range of the Northwest," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 7 (1920-21), pp. 348-62. C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 33 (1929-30), pp. 34-49.

8. "The Great Father of life who made us and gave us these lands to live upon, made also the buffalo and other game to afford us the means to live; his meat is our food; with his skin we clothe ourselves and build our houses; he is to us our only means of life, food, fuel, and raiment. But I fear we shall soon be deprived of the buffalo, and then starvation and cold will diminish our numbers, and we shall all be swept away."—Assinaboine chief, quot. I. I. Stevens, "Report," p. 186; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1854, pp. 184-249.

9. "I don't want to give up game as long as there is any game. I will be half civilized till the game is gone. Then I will be all a white man."—Sitting Bull (Teton), "Interview with A. Martin [1877]," p. 155; in Johnson, The Red Record of the Sioux, pp. 152-55.

10. ". . . the progress of our industrial enterprise has cut these people off from modes of livelihood entirely sufficient for their wants . . . and has left them utterly without resource."—Walker, "Report [1872]," p. 10.

"The loss of the buffalo, which is looked upon by Indians as disastrous, has really been to them a blessing in disguise. They now see clearly that they must . . . [acquiesce to] the beneficial policy now pursued."—E. A. Hayt, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. iii; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1879, pp. iii-xlix.

11. "The records are abundant to show that agents have pocketed the funds appropriated by the government and driven the Indians to starvation."—U.S. Indian Peace Commission, Report [1868], p. 21.

"We were prisoners, not in the hands of the army, but in the hands of robbers,"—Red Cloud (Teton), "Interview with F. J. M. Craft [1890]," p. 463; in Johnson, Red Record of the Sioux, pp. 460-68.

12. "Experience has demonstrated the impolicy of sending northern Indians to the Indian Territory. To go no farther back than the date of the Pawnee removal, it will be seen that the effect of a radical change of climate is disastrous, as this tribe alone, in the first two years, lost by death over 800 out of its number of 2,376." —Hayt, "Report [1877]," p. 5.

13. The following are a few references to the invasion of White herders:

Dale, E. E., "History of the Ranch Cattle Industry in Oklahoma," Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1920, pt. 1, pp. 309-22.

Gordon, C. W., "Report on Cattle, Sheep, and Swine," in U.S. Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States: 1880 (Washington, Government Printing Of ice, 1883-88), III, pp. 951-1110.

U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report Relative to the Leasing of Indian Lands in the Indian Territory (U.S. Congress, Documents and Reports, ser. 2261, no. 17), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1885.

U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, Report on the Condition of the Indians in the Indian Territory and Other Reservations (U.S. Congress, Documents and Reports, ser. 2362, no. 62), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1886.

14. The following are a few references to the invasion of White farmers:

Price, H., "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," pp. xxiii-xxvi; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1883, pp. iii-lxxi.

_____, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," pp. xl-xliii; in ibid., 1884, pp. iii-lv.
Risert, C. C., Land Hunger, Norman, U. of Oklahoma Press, 1942.
U.S. President, Message . . . [on] Occupation of . . . Indian Territory by White Settlers (U.S. Congress, Documents and Reports, ser. 1869, no. 20), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1879.

15. "We are surrounded . . . on all sides by the white man, and it seems that everything belongs to him."—Esedotodes (Pawnee); in Indian Territory, General Council, Journal of the Annual Session, 5 (1874), p. 30.

16. R. I. Dodge, The Plains of the Great West (New York, Putnam, 1877), p. 340.
17. Dodge, Our Wild Indians, p. 333. Cf. D. Horton, "The Functions of Alcohol in Primitive Societies," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 4 (1943-44), pp. 199-320.
18. U.S. Supreme Court, "Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia," Reports, 30 (1831), (pp. 1-80) p. 17.
19. "These Indians . . . in 1878 occupied an anomalous position. . . . They were neither citizens nor aliens; they were neither free persons nor slaves; they were the wards of the nation, and yet, on a reservation under a military guard, were little else than prisoners of war while war did not exist."—U.S. Court of Claims, "Connors vs. U.S. et al.," Reports, 13 (1897-98), (pp. 317-26) p. 323.
20. "Up to a few years ago the 200,000 reservation Indians were subjected to perhaps the greatest concentration of administrative absolutism in our governmental structure."—F. S. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law (Washington, Government Printing Office 1942), p. 175.
21. M. W. Smith, "The War Complex of the Plains Indians," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 78 (1938), pp. 425-64. B. Mishkin, Rank and Warfare among the Plains Indians (Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, 3), New York, Augustin, 1940.
22. J. Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," pp. 346-55; in Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 17 (1895-96), pt. 1, pp. 129-445.
23. "They [i.e., Yankton, Assiniboin, etc.] no longer practice the 'sun dance,' 'scalp dance,' and other barbarous customs openly or near the agency; yet there are some who like to steal away occasionally to some secluded spot and go through them."—J. E. Stevens, "Report on the Indians of Fort Peck Reservation [1891]," p. 370; in U.S. Census Office, Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1892-97), X, pp. 368-72.
24. C. Wissler, ed., Societies of the Plains Indians (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, 11), New York American Museum of Natural History, 1912-16.
25. "Everything was done to break the power of the real chiefs, who really wished their people to improve, and little men, so-called chiefs, were made to act as disturbers and agitators."—Red Cloud, "Interview [1890]," p. 462.
26. "I have heard that you intend to settle us on a reservation near the mountains. I don't want to settle there. I love to roam over

the wide prairie, and when I do it, I feel free and happy, but when we settle down we grow pale and die."—Satanta (Kiowa); in U.S. Indian Peace Commission, Proceedings [1867] (MS, Washington, National Archives; see Martin, p. 159), I, p. 101.

27. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Instructions to Indian Agents (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1880), pp. 73-74. Cf. F. E. Leupp, The Indian and His Problem (New York, Scribner, 1910), pp. 222-25.

28. T. C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians (Boston, Lee & Shepard, 1875), p. 321. Harrison, Latest Studies on Indian Reservations, pp. 163-65.

29. G. B. Grinnell, "Tenure of Land among the Indians," American Anthropologist, 9 (1907), pp. 1-11. R. M. Linton, "Land Tenure in Aboriginal America;" in O. La Farge, ed., The Changing Indian (Norman, U. of Oklahoma Press, 1942), pp. 42-54.

30. The following is a list of allotment acts, 1887-1899, for tribes between the Rockies and the Great Lakes:

- Jan. 26, 1887. U.S. Statutes at Large, 24 (1885-87), pp. 367-68.
Sauk, Fox, Iowa; Nebraska and Kansas.
- May 1, 1888. Ibid., 25 (1887-89), pp. 113-34.
Gros Ventre, Blackfoot, Crow; Montana.
- Jan. 14, 1889. Ibid., pp. 642-46.
Chippewa; Montana.
- Feb. 23, 1889. Ibid., pp. 687-88.
Shoshoni, Bannock; Idaho.
- March 2, 1889. Ibid., pp. 888-99.
Santee, Teton, Ponca; North and South Dakota.
- March 2, 1889. Ibid., pp. 1013-16.
Illinois, Miami; Oklahoma.
- Feb. 13, 1891. Ibid., 26 (1889-91), pp. 749-59.
Sauk, Fox, Iowa; Oklahoma.
- March 3, 1891. Ibid., pp. 989-1044.
Potawatomi, Shawnee, Cheyenne, Arapaho; Oklahoma.
Arikara, Gros Ventre, Mandan; North Dakota.
Santee; South Dakota.
Crow; Montana.
- March 3, 1892. Ibid., 27 (1891-93), pp. 557-63.
Kickapoo; Oklahoma.
- March 3, 1893. Ibid., pp. 612-46.
Omaha; Nebraska.
Tonkawa, Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole;
Oklahoma.
- May 30, 1894. Ibid., 28 (1893-95), p. 84.
Oto, Missouri; Nebraska and Kansas.
- Aug. 15, 1894. Ibid., pp. 286-338.
Potawatomi, Shawnee, Huron; Oklahoma.

Sauk, Fox; Kansas and Nebraska.
Yankton; South Dakota.
Nez Perce; Idaho.
Feb. 20, 1895. Ibid., pp. 677-79.
Ute; Colorado.
March 2, 1895. Ibid., pp. 876-910.
Wichita, Quapaw; Oklahoma.
Feb. 20, 1895. Ibid., pp. 970-71.
Chippewa; Wisconsin.
June 10, 1896. Ibid., 29 (1895-97), pp. 321-60.
Teton; South Dakota.
Huron; Oklahoma.
June 7, 1897. Ibid., 30 (1897-99), pp. 62-96.
Ute; Utah.
Chippewa, Mahican; Kansas.
June 4, 1898. Ibid., pp. 429-30.
Ute; Utah.
June 28, 1898. Ibid., pp. 495-519.
Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek; Oklahoma.
July 1, 1898. Ibid., pp. 567-69.
Seminole; Oklahoma.
Feb. 23, 1899. Ibid., pp. 909-10.
Potawatomi, Kickapoo; Kansas.
March 1, 1899. Ibid., pp. 924-47.
Ute; Utah.
March 3, 1899. Ibid., pp. 1362-66.
Teton; South Dakota.

31. "The white children have surrounded me and have left nothing but an island. When we first had this land we were strong, now we are melting like snow on the hillside, while you are grown like spring grass."—Red Cloud; in U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, Annual Report, 2 (1870), p. 41.

"The opening of the reservation and the influx of the whites served to intensify the religious fervor of the Indians, who were now more than ever made to feel their dependent and helpless condition."—Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion," p. 901.

32. "The chief duty of an agent is to induce his Indians to labor in civilized pursuits. To attain this end every possible influence should be brought to bear, and in proportion as it is attained other things being equal, an agent's administration is successful or unsuccessful."—U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Instructions to Indian Agents [1880], p. 71.

33. ". . . two-thirds of our Indians are living on land not adapted to ordinary farming."—A. C. Fletcher, "Statement," p. 175; in U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, Annual Report, 22 (1890), pp. 175-78. For the consequences, see G. B. Grinnell, The Indians of To-Day (Chicago, Stone, 1900), p. 76.

34. C. Wissler, Indian Cavalcade (New York, Sheridan House, 1938), pp. 190-92, 321.

35. "All these people tell different stories, and each wants me to believe that his special way is the only way to be good and to save my soul. I have about made up my mind that either they all lie, or that they don't know any more about it than I did at first."—Spotted Tail (Teton); in Dodge, Our Wild Indians, pp. 111-12.

36. Wissler, Indian Cavalcade, pp. 189-92.

37. Johnson, Red Record of the Sioux, pp. 401-04. Wissler, op. cit., pp. 68-73; drawing no. 4.

38. T. J. Morgan, "Instructions to Agents in Regard to Manner of Issuing Beef;" in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1890, p. clxvi.

39. "This land belongs to us, for the Great Spirit gave it to us when he put us here. We were free to come and go, and to live in our own way. But white men, who belong to another land, have come upon us, and are forcing us to live according to their ideas. That is an injustice; we never dreamed of making white men live as we live.

"White men like to dig in the ground for their food. My people prefer to hunt the buffalo as their fathers did. White men like to stay in one place. My people want to move their tepees here and there to the different hunting grounds. The life of white men is slavery. They are prisoners in towns or farms. The life my people want is a life of freedom. I have seen nothing that a white man has, houses or railways or clothing or food, that is as good as the right to move in the open country, and live in our own fashion."—Sitting Bull, "Interview [ca. 1889]," pp. 300-01; in J. Creelman, On the Great Highway (Boston, Lothrop, 1901), pp. 294-304.

40. "Great efforts were made to break up our customs, but nothing was done to introduce the customs of the whites. . . . All was done to discourage and nothing to encourage."—Red Cloud, "Interview [1890]" pp. 462-63.

41. The most perceptive analysis of the traditional roles of men and women is found in Dodge, The Plains of the Great West, p. 349.

42. "According to the testimony of one who came to manhood during this period, many young men were so overwhelmed by the vacuity of the new life that they took to suicide or other less direct ways of throwing their lives away."—Wissler, Societies of the Plains Indians, p. 869.

"Eight suicides were recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898 [among the Pawnee]."—A. Lesser, The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game (Columbia U. Contributions to Anthropology, 16) (New York, Columbia U. Press, 1933), p. 122.

"The confinement, the monotony, the sickness, the insufficient food, and the general hopelessness of it all make life on the reservation dreary enough, for in most cases the people have not yet reached a point where they have anything to look forward to."—Grinnell, The Indians of To-Day, p. 144.

43. Creelman, On the Great Highway, pp. 304-12.

44. "I have seen the results of school. The children who return are neither white nor Indian."—Sitting Bull, "Statement [1882]"; in W. S. Campbell (S. Vestal, pseud.), ed., New Sources of Indian History (Norman, U. of Oklahoma Press, 1934), p. 273.

45. "Professor [C. C.] Painter was struck with the fact of increasing friction between the Indians who are progressing and the Government officials. He speaks of it as of the same nature and of like necessity as that shown in the South between the negroes and the whites. So long as the negro consents to be a "nigger" and have his place assigned to him by the white man, "he is a good fellow and knows his place," but when he assumes to find such place for himself as he is able to find, friction and collision are certain. This is the case when an Indian begins to feel the aspirations of a man and undertakes to act as a man; he is in conflict with the Bureau [of Indian Affairs] and its regulations and Agents: these are for Indians and not for man."—Indian Rights Association, Annual Report, 6 (1889), pp. 22-23. Cf. C. C. Painter, Extravagance, Waste and Failure of Indian Education (Philadelphia, Indian Rights Association, 1892), p. 18.

46. "I feel that I belong to both races and yet to neither, & by turns am wronged scorned & rejected by each. In short I am between two fires & cannot get over either."—F. B. Harris, "Letter to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Jan. 1, 1874," p. 2; MS, Washington, National Archives. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Received: Miscellaneous, 1874, H-38.

Section C

1. ". . . whenever the white man thinks the Indian is in his way he has but to arise in his might and drive him, for there is no law to which the Indian can appeal for protection."—Buffalo Good (Waco); in Indian Territory, General Council, Journal of the Annual Session, 5 (1874), p. 27.

"This country is ours. We did not give it to you. You stole it away from us."—The-One-That-Runs-the-Ree (Santee); in U.S. Commission Appointed to Meet Sitting Bull, Report (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1877), p. 8.

Indian-White relations were made the subject of myths; see Battey, Life and Adventures, pp. 108-09. Wissler, Indian Cavalcade, pp. 173-75.

2. Battey, Life and Adventures, pp. 219-20, 152, 158-59, 272, 284, 286, 305.

3. Plains Indian warfare is summarized in the following works:
U.S. Army, Department of the Missouri, Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1868 to 1882, Chicago, Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri, 1882.
U.S. Adjutant General's Office, Chronological List of Actions, &c., with Indians, from January 1, 1866, to January [7], 1891, [Washington], Adjutant General's Office, [1891?].
Webb, G. W., Chronological List of Engagements between the Regular Army of the United States and Various Tribes of Hostile Indians which Occurred during the Years 1790 to 1898 Inclusive, St. Joseph, Webb, 1939.
Schmitt, M. F., & D. Brown, Fighting Indians of the West, New York, Scribner, 1948.

4. E. A. Hoebel, "The Comanche Sun Dance and Messianic Outbreak of 1872," American Anthropologist, 43 (1941), pp. 301-303. Additional references not contained in Hoebel are:
Battey, Life and Adventures, pp. 302-05.
Haworth, J. M. "Report on Kiowa and Comanche Agency," p. 220; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1874, pp. 219-22.
Mooney, J., "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," pp. 201-02; in Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 17 (1895-96), pt. 1, pp. 129-445.
Wallace, E., & E. A. Hoebel, The Comanches (Norman, U. of Oklahoma Press, 1952), pp. 319-26.

5. Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa," pp. 349-50. A. Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers (Norman, U. of Oklahoma Press, 1945), pp. 142-54.

6. There are innumerable books and articles on Indian wars, and some on religious movements, but almost nothing on the important topic of the Plains Indian use of political adjustments to Whites. How were representatives selected for councils with government officials, and how did they negotiate? How were delegates selected to go to Washington, and how did they lobby? How did they select their White lawyers, and how did the latter act on their behalf? How were friendly White individuals and organizations used by Indians? Here is an important and fascinating field in intersocialization and acculturation which is unexplored. The only relevant studies known to me are:
Lindquist, G. E. E., "Indian Treaty Making," Chronicles of Oklahoma, 28 (1948), pp. 416-48.
Turner, K. C., Red Men Calling on the Great White Father, Norman, U. of Oklahoma Press, 1951.

7. For some material on procedures used in councils with government officials, see:

Battey, Life and Adventures, pp. 195-206.

Brunot, F. R., "Council with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes;" in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1869, pp. 53-55.

Findlay, C., "Report of a Talk at the Kiowa and Comanche Agency;" in ibid., pp. 61-63.

McLaughlin, J., My Friend the Indian (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1910), pp. 260-314.

Martin, J. H., List of Documents concerning the Negotiation of Ratified Indian Treaties, 1801-1869 (U.S. National Archives, Special List, 6), Washington, National Archives, 1949.

U.S. Special Commission to Confer with the Sioux, Report; in U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, Annual Report, 5 (1873), pp. 156-73.

U.S. Commission to Negotiate with the Crow, Report; in ibid., pp. 93-124.

U.S. Commission Appointed to Treat with the Sioux Indians for the Relinquishment of the Black Hills, Report, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1875.

U.S. Commission Appointed to Meet Sitting Bull, Report, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1877.

8. Some material on Washington delegations will be found in Walker, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs [1872]," pp. 97-99. F. E. Leupp, The Indian and His Problems (New York, Scribner, 1910), pp. 225-28.

9. The most important White organizations ostensibly friendly to Indians were:

Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, founded in Boston, 1879; see F. W. Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians (Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30) (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907-10), I, p. 162.

National Indian Association, founded in Philadelphia, 1879; see ibid., II, p. 38.

Indian Rights Association, founded in Philadelphia, 1882; see ibid., I, pp. 608-09.

Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian, founded at Lake Mohonk, New York, 1883; see ibid., I, pp. 928-29.

National Indian Defense Association, founded in Washington, 1885. As an organization favoring tribal self-determination and cultural pluralism it was unacceptable to government officials; it is not listed in Hodge.

10. The transformation of Indian Territory into an Indian state was part of the policy of indirect rule during the extensive frontier period; see A. H. Abel, "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1906, pt. 1, pp. 233-450. Abel, "Proposals

for an Indian State, 1778-1878," *ibid.*, 1907, pt. 1, pp. 89-104. This policy was implemented by clauses in the 1866 treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes, making provision for an intertribal council in the Territory, as the first step in the organization of a state; see Kappler, Indian Affairs, II, pp. 913, 921, 935, 945. Before the council met there was some procrastination of the part of the federal government, and impatience on the part of the Indians; see L. N. Robinson, "Letter to C. E. Mix, Sept. 26, 1868;" in Abel, "Proposals," p. 101 n. E. S. Parker, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," pp. 8-9; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1869, pp. 3-42. Cherokee Chiefs, "On Indian Territorial Government," *ibid.*, pp. 99-100. The General Council met 1870-75. On the work of the General Council, see the following:

Indian Territory, General Council, Journal of the Annual Session, Lawrence, Excelsior et al., 1871-75. Cf. L. Hargrett, A Bibliography of the Constitutions and Laws of American Indians (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard U. Press, 1947), pp. 91-95.

Parker, E. S., "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 7; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1870, pp. 3-11.

U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, Annual Report, 2 (1870), pp. 9, 25-27, 113-36.

U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1887, pp. 116-18.

U.S. Census Office, Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890, X, p. 253.

Williams, A. M., "A Grand Council at Okmulgee," Lippincott's Magazine, 24 (1879), pp. 371-75.

Officially, the main task of the General Council was the Draft Constitution of 1870 for a proposed Indian state; see Indian Territory, General Council, Journal, 1 (1870), pp. 44-57. Nothing came of this, because it was neither ratified by some tribes suspicious of White governmental customs, nor by Congress, which insisted that the proposed state have a special dependent status—for example, that the governor be appointed from Washington rather than elected in the state. Some of the relevant sources, chronologically arranged, in addition to the Journal of the General Council, are:

U.S. Congress, Congressional Globe, 43 (1870-71), pt. 1, pp. 620, 715.

Downing, L., et al, Protest of the Cherokee Nation against a Territorial Government, Washington, Cunningham & McIntosh, 1871.

U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, Indian Confederacy (U.S. Congress, Documents and Reports, ser. 1462, no. 49), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1871.

Nye, J. W., Report to Accompany S. 679 [41st Congress, 3rd Session] (*Ibid.*, ser. 1443, no. 336), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1871.

Choctaw Nation, Memorial (*Ibid.*, ser. 1481, no. 53), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1872.

U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Territories, Territory of Oklahoma (*Ibid.*, ser. 1542, no. 89), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1872.

Creek and Cherokee Delegations, Territory of Oklahoma (*Ibid.*, ser. 1573, no. 110), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1873.

Indian Territory, Indian Delegates, Protest against Indian Territorial Government (*Ibid.*, ser. 1618, no. 87), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1874.

Indian Territory, General Council, Protest against Indian Territorial Government (*Ibid.*, ser. 1618, no. 88), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1874.

Five Civilized Tribes, Indian Treaties of 1866 (*Ibid.*, ser. 1619, no. 142), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1874.

U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, Annual Report, 6 (1874), pp. 13, 97-100.

Smith, E. P., "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 12; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1874, pp. 3-83.

Williams, A. C., "Report of Wichita Agency," p. 65; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1876, pp. 64-66.

U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Territories, Report to Accompany Bill S. 1802 [45th Congress, 3rd Session] (U.S. Congress, Documents and Reports, ser. 1839, no. 744), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1879,

U.S. Census Office, Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890, X, p. 253.

11. The purpose of the Okmulgee Draft Constitution was "in order to draw themselves together in a closer bond of union, for the better protection of their rights, the improvement of themselves, and the preservation of the race."—Draft Constitution, preamble; in Indian Territory, General Council, Journal, 1 (1870), (pp. 44-57) p. 44.

"... the object of this confederation is to preserve peace and friendship among themselves, with all other red men, and with the people of the United States; to promote the general welfare of all Indians, and to establish friendly relations with them; to secure our lands exclusively to ourselves, and to transmit them to our children after us."—*Ibid.*, pp. 31-32. Cf., Battey, Life and Adventures, pp. 253-54. L. Tatum, "Report of the Kiowa Agency," p. 247; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1872, pp. 247-48. L. Tatum, Our Red Brothers (Philadelphia, Winston, 1899), pp. 108-15, 125-26. Williams, "A Grand Council at Okmulgee," pp. 371, 373-74. Of course much relevant material will be found in the Journal of the Grand Council.

12. Walker, The Indian Question, pp. 46-48. H. Welsh, Civilization among the Sioux Indians (Publications of the Indian Rights Association, (ser. 2) 7) (Philadelphia, Indian Rights Association, 1893), p. 18.

13. Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa," pp. 356-57. W. La Barre, The Peyote Cult (Yale U. Publications in Anthropology, 19) (New Haven, Yale U. Press, 1938), p. 112.

Section D

1. C. Wissler, "General Discussion of Shamanistic and Dancing Societies," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 11 (1912-16), pp. 853-76. Additional references not contained in Wissler are:

Anonymous, "Dance of the Crow Indians," Harper's Weekly, 27 (1883), pp. 798-800.

"The Sioux of South Dakota," Leslie's Weekly Illustrated Newspaper, 71 (1890-91), p. 369.
[Burlin] N. Curtis, The Indians' Book (New York, Harper, 1907), pp. 55-56, 109-10, 257-60.

Clements, J., "Report of Santee Agency," p. 204; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1895, pp. 203-05.

"Report of Santee Agency," p. 203; in ibid., 1896, pp. 202-04.

Cross, J. F., "Report of Missionary, Rosebud Reservation"; in ibid., 1896, p. 300.

Flannery, R., "The Changing Form and Functions of the Gros Ventre Grass Dance," Primitive Man, 20 (1947), pp. 39-70.

Hindman, D. T., "Report of Sisseton Agency," p. 469; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1892, pp. 469-71.

Indian Rights Association, Annual Report, 10 (1893), p. 31.

Johnson, Red Record of the Sioux, pp. 243-47.

Kinney, J. F., "Report of Yankton Agency," p. 60; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1887, pp. 53-65.

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3. J. S. Slotkin, "Peyotism, 1521-1891," American Anthropologist, 57 (1955), pp. 202-30.

4. L. Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives (General Series in Anthropology, 1), Menasha, Banta, 1935.

5. J. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 14 (1892-93), pt. 2. Additional references not contained in Mooney are:

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_____, "The Sioux Outbreak in South Dakota," ibid., 35 (1891), pp. 57, 61-62, 108-09, 112.

_____, "Lieutenant Casey's Last Scout," ibid., pp. 85-89.

Roosevelt, Report, p. 4.

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Wissler, "General Discussion of Shamanistic and Dancing Societies," p. 869.

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7. For example, see the following:

"Treaty of Fort Laramie, 1851," art. 1; in Kappler, Indian Affairs, II, pp. 594-96.

Partoll, A. J., "Blackfoot Indian Peace Council, 1855," Frontier and Midland, 17 (1936-37), pp. 199-207.

Walker, The Indian Question, pp. 61-62.

Battey, Life and Adventures, p. 106.

8. "The multiplicity of tribes represented, enabled a mixing of tribes in dormitory rooms. The rooms held three to four each and it was arranged that no two of the same tribe were placed in the same room. This not only helped in the acquirement of English but broke up tribal and race clannishness, a most important victory in getting the Indian toward real citizenship."—R. H. Pratt, The Indian Industrial School: Carlisle, Pennsylvania (Carlisle, Hamilton Library Association, 1908), p. 21.

9. The early transcontinental highways are discussed in W. T. Jackson, Wagon Roads West, Berkeley, U. of California Press, 1952. The railroads are discussed in R. E. Riegel, The Story of the Western Railroads, New York, Macmillan, 1926. Sometimes main highways, as well as railroads, are given in the state maps of the U.S. General Land Office. Railway maps and other details for any given year will be found in Poor's Manual of Railroads, New York, Poor, 1868-1924.

10. Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa," pp. 347-48. Lesser, The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game, pp. 116-17.

11. "The Indians . . . are descended from a free and independent ancestry, full of race pride, disdainful of new and alien things. . . . Far from aspiring to be white men or like white men, they have almost universally looked forward with dread to the day . . . when they will have lost their ethnic individuality."—Leupp, The Indian and His Problem, p. 359.

12. For instance, John Wilson was a leader in both the Ghost Dance and Peyote Cult among the Caddo; see Mooney, "Ghost Dance," pp. 903-04. Frank White had similar roles among the Pawnee; see Murie, "Pawnee Indian Societies," pp. 632-33, 638. Lesser, The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game, p. 118.

13. The statement has been made that the less acculturated Indians adopted the Ghost Dance; see A. C. Fletcher, "The Indian Messiah," Journal of American Folklore, 4 (1891), (pp. 57-60) p. 59. However, this is not borne out by the data known to me; there is evidence that marginal Indians were attracted to the Ghost Dance as well as to the Peyote Cult; e.g., see F. W. Blackmar, "Indian Education," pp. 831-32; in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 2 (1891-92), pp. 813-37.

CHAPTER III

1. Mooney learned about Peyotism in 1891 while investigating the Ghost Dance (Mooney 1896b: 653. Mooney 1892a). He spent the field season of 1897-98 in the Southwest and Mexico (Mooney 1900: xv-xvii).

2. ". . . a cactus . . . locally known as 'Peyote,' 'Mescal bean,' 'Mescal button,' 'Japanese button,' or 'Wak-we.'"—Johnson 1909c: 17. For a description of the plant, see N. L. Britton & J. N. Rose, The Cactaceae (Publications of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 248) (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1919-23), III, pp. 84-85; IV, p. 286.

Actually, there seem to be two species or genera of Peyote. One is the ordinary Peyote already mentioned. The other kind is rare and not eaten; it is called "star Peyote" by those Indians who know of it. None of the taxonomic works on the Cactaceae seem to mention it, and I am not enough of a botanist to give an adequate description of the star Peyote though I have seen it.

CHAPTER IV

Section A

1. A. S. Gatschet, "Comecrudo-English Vocabulary [1886]," ed. J. R. Swanton, pp. 68, 74, 114; in Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 127 (1940), pp. 55-118.

2. The following are references to 19th century Tarahumara Peyotism:

Lumholtz, K. S., "The American Cave Dwellers," pp. 319-24; in Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, 26 (1894), pp. 299-325.

"Tarahumari Dances and Plant Worship," Scribner's Magazine, 16 (1894), pp. 438-56.

Unknown Mexico (New York, Scribner, 1902), I, pp. 356-72.

"My Life of Exploration," pp. 235-36; in Natural History, 21 (1921), pp. 224-43.

Mooney, J., Tarumari-Guayachic [Notebook], Jan. 21, 1898, MS, Washington, Bureau of American Ethnology, MS no. 1887, part.

in Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 19 (1897-98), p. xvii.

Tellechea, M., Compendio gramatical para la inteligencia del idioma Tarahumar (Mexico, Federaction, 1826), pp. 67, 76.

3. "The ceremony was noted by the Spanish missionaries very soon after they had established themselves in Mexico."—Mooney 1897: 329.

The Spanish records mention the old Peyote complex exclusively (Slotkin 1955); therefore Mooney is using "ceremony" generically in the sense of ritual involving Peyote, and not specifically to mean the Peyote Cult.

4. ". . . one night the chief . . . began to call . . . the [Mescalero] Indians, painted in most fantastic style, were gathering around a tepee down near the creek. Before the tepee a few paces, was a large cedar branch standing stuck in the ground. The Apaches, keeping time to the tom-tom beating within, circled around the tepee three times, then bowing toward the rising sun stooped and entered.

"The tom-tom, the rattle gourd, and the discordant song began in earnest, and the Indians were indulging in a Mescal revelry . . . all night long the tump, tump, tump of the tom-tom, and the noise of the rattle gourd and the singing continued, and when the sun came up and their revelry was ended, they lay down in a stupor and slept."
—Methvin 1899: 36-37.

5. The following 1886-90 documents on southern Plains Peyotism are known to me:

"A Friend" 1888

Adams 1890 a-b

Ashley 1890 a-b

Briggs 1887 (provenience uncertain)

Clark 1888

Hall 1886: 130

Myers 1889: 191

Thomas & Rives 1890

U.S. Census Office 1894: 530-31 (date of document uncertain)

White 1888 a-d

6. "The Indians of this [i.e., Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita] Reservation have used very little of this article prior to 4 years ago, excepting a few of the Quahadis [Comanche] who happened to be associated with the Lipan Apaches in New Mexico. These Apaches having practiced the use of the Wok-wave for the last 20 or 30 years. . . . Within the last two years the Comanches have used this medicine to such an extent . . . almost every boy 15 years of age has addapted the practice and think of nothing else.

"Ten years ago during the period of the subjugation of the Kiowas and Comanches and other Indians of this & Cheyenne Reservation by General Mackinzie there was but very little of this medicine in circulation and became very difficult for the Indians to obtain. They paid one dollar a piece for it, but since that time it has been introduced more and more by Mexicans and Renegade Apaches and Comanches . . . 4 or 5 years ago, a Mexican, named Titchees-toque or Chewowwah, having been a captive of the Comanches and under their training have become equal to them in savage warfare escaped punishment by remaining with the Apaches in New Mexico. He returned to this Reservation during P. B. Hunts term of office [1878-1885], bringing with him quite a sack full of these opium buttons as I call them, and traded them to the Comanches. . . . Although Agt. Hunt notified him that if he did not stop it he would have to return to New Mex. He is still one of the ring leaders in the use

of the medicine claiming to be a medicine man and through the medium of the Wokwave able to cure almost all diseases. Old Paddy quee is another Wokwave manager.

"This old man Paddy quee . . . calls himself a medicine man. . . . His whole attention is directed towards the opium button, calling a party of young men numbering from 8 to 15 together for that purpose as often as twice & 3 times a week.

"The usual dose of these buttons some 4 years ago were from 4 to 6 per night during the continuance of the party.

"Now they use from 20 to 50 pr night. . . .

"The Indian is superstitious by education. The influence of the Wokwave upon them I think is similar to that of large doses Chloral Hydrate. It throws a person into a kind of trans, delema [dilemma? delirium?] or like a dream, seeing or immagining all kind of things. These visions, after the spell is passed off and the Indian sobers up, he does not consider his mental condition, but he thinks that all he saw & heard while in this condition is reality and that these things were communicated to him through the Wokwave and that they came direct from the Great Spirit.

". . . The [Mescalero] Apaches in New Mexico called by the Comanches Es se quittars or Es se quitta . . . used this medicine for a length of time."—Clark 1888.

6a. "The Comanche Indians use this Peoti 50 years ago. They got it from the Apache in Mexico. I use Peoti 40 years ago myself."—Quanah 1908b: 1.

7. "I was a student at Carlisle . . . from 1880 to 1883. . . . When I returned to . . . Oklahoma, I joined the commonly called Peyote Society . . . among the Comanches, in 1884."—Bull Bear 1918: 104.

I am sceptical of statements based upon remote recall, but in this case the time seems fixed in relation to his return from Carlisle. In order to test the reliability of Bull Bear's memory, I checked the dates he gives for attendance at Carlisle, with the school records. According to the latter, he was a student from Feb. 3, 1881 to Jan. 28, 1884 (Records of the Carlisle Indian School, MS, Washington, National Archives). He is thus off by about a year.

8. "Peyote had been brought in by Sankadotie, Apekaum, and his father Zempadlete, Boitse, and Hompi—who had gotten it from the Comanche, who had gotten it from the Arizona Apache; about 1885 peyote was brought in, around the Peninsula Sundance."—La Barre 1935a.

9. Old Kiowa have stated that the Peyote Cult was contemporaneous with the "Sons of the Sun," the local religion of 1887 mentioned in Chapter II, Section C.

"At about the same time that Poigya [Paingya, in Mooney] organized his group, the first peyote meetings were held at Mt. Scott."—D. Collier 1935.

10. For the text of Clark 1888, see note 6.

10a. Quanah 1908b: 1. For the text see note 6a.

11. "About thirty years ago, in the vicinity of Carrizo, Texas, now the county seat of Zapata Co., Texas, there was a considerable band of Indians known as the 'Carrizo Indians'; these Indians, now extinct, were large users of the peyotes; they were used chiefly in connection with their dances; the Indians would sit about the fire. At intervals during the dance, the leader would take a bean, chew it a few times and then pass it on to the next one, who would also chew the same bean, and so on, until the entire company had chewed on this same quid.

"The fame of these performances reached the Indians of Oklahoma Territory."—Johnson 1909d: 3.

12. A. Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Relacion [1542], pp. 96-97; in Relacion y comentarios, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz (Madrid, Suarez, 1906), I, pp. 1-144.

A. S. Gatschet, The Karankawa Indians (Papers of the Peabody Museum, 1.2) (Cambridge, Mass., Peabody Museum, 1891), p. 18.

13. F. Hidalgo, "Letter to the Viceroy of Mexico, Nov. 4, 1716," p. 267; in J. R. Swanton, Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians (Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 132) (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 265-71. I. F. De Espinosa, Chronica apostolica (Mexico, Hogal, 1746), pp. 431-33.

14. Methvin 1899: 36-37.

15. With Kroeber, I am discriminating between the Plains and Prairie. The latter has such a rite.

16. C. S. Sargent, Manual of the Trees of North America (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1922, 2nd ed.), pp. 616-17. La Barre 1938: 105-09, 126-27.

17. Havard 1885: 500.

18. Hidalgo, "Letter," p. 267.

19. Castetter & Opler 1936: 54, 61.

20. Vestal & Schultes 1939: 34-35, 39.

21. Sargent, Manual, pp. 671-72. E. M. Hale, Ilex cassine (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Bulletin, 14), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1891.

22. J. B. Bossu, Nouveaux voyages aux Indes occidentales (Paris, Le Jay, 1768), II, p. 160. Gatschet, The Karankawa Indians, p. 18. J. O. Dyer, The Lake Charles Atakapas (Galveston, privately printed, 1917), p. [6].

23. F. Hidalgo, "Letter to I. F. de Espinosa, Nov. 20, 1710," p. 52; abr. tr. M. A. Hatcher, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 31 (1927-28), pp. 50-52. Espinosa, Chronica apostolica, pp. 427-33.

24. Espinosa, Chronica apostolica, pp. 427-28.

25. Curtis 1930: 64-85.

26. Opler 1936: 147-48.

27. La Barre 1938: 112 n.

28. But see Gatschet, The Karankawa Indians, p. 18.

29. F. Densmore, "The Use of Meaningless Syllables in Indian Songs," American Anthropologist, 45 (1943), pp. 160-62.

30. Gatschet, The Karankawa Indians, p. 18.

31. Hidalgo, "Letter to Espinosa," p. 52.

32. J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Religion of the Apache Indians," Folk-Lore, 2 (1891), (pp. 419-54) p. 430. Bourke, "The Medicine-Men of the Apache," pp. 462-63; in Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 9 (1887-88), pp. 443-603.

33. McAllester 1949: 86-87. Nettl 1954: 306-07.

34. L. Tatum, Our Red Brothers (Philadelphia, Winston, 1899), pp. 65-66. Wallace & Hoebel 1952: 86-91.

35. R. H. Lowie, "Comanche Dances," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 11 (1912-16), pp. 809-12. Lowie, "Societies of the Kiowa," ibid., pp. 839-51.

36. Among the Coyotero in 1881; see Mooney 1896b: 704-05.

Additional references not in Mooney are:

Bourke, "Notes upon the Religion of the Apache Indians," p. 425.
 "The Medicine-Men of the Apache," p. 505

Frazer, R., The Apaches of the White Mountain Reservation (Philadelphia, Indian Rights Association, 1885), pp. 10-11.

Lockwood, F. C., The Apache Indians (New York, Macmillan, 1938), pp. 234-39.

Pope, J., "Report of Headquarters, Department of the Missouri," pp. 120-21; in U.S. Dept. of War, Annual Report, 1881, I, pp. 113-26.

37. Among the Comanche in 1873; among the Kiowa in 1882 and 1887. See Chapter II, sec. C.

38. I have been able to trace all Peyote ritual artifacts, techniques, and motifs, to Plains precursors.

The artifacts consist of the bone whistle, feather fan (in two forms: individual feathers separately attached to the handle with deerskin, and a bunch of feathers wrapped together), staff, gourd rattle, waterdrum, and ritual jewelry (in two media: silver and bead-work).

Similar artifacts, techniques, and motifs can be seen in any museum collection of Plains material. The only less obvious motifs which need be mentioned specifically are:

(a) The Waterbird with outstretched neck and sweptback wings. Cf. G. Mallory, Picture-Writing of the American Indians (Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 10) (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 483.

(b) Tipi motif on silver earrings. Cf. Northern Arapaho earrings, collected 1905, Chicago, Chicago Museum of Natural History, no. 58049. This stems from an 18th century eastern motif; see W. M. Beauchamp, Metallic Ornaments of the New York Indians (New York, State Museum Bulletin, 73) (Albany, U. of State of New York, 1903), pl. 17, nos. 179-81, 183. R. C. Alberts, "Trade Silver and Indian Silver Work in the Great Lakes Region," Wisconsin Archeologist, 34 (1953), (pp. 1-121) pls. 2G, 4G.

39. The Sacred Image in the Plains Sun Dance. See L. Spier, "Notes on the Kiowa Sun Dance," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 16 (1915-21), pp. 433-50.

40. T. C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians (Boston, Lee & Shepard, 1875), p. 220.

41. D. G. Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas," p. 233; in H. R. Schoolcraft, Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1851-57), I, pp. 229-41. W. Bollaert, "Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas," Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, (old ser.) 2 (1850), (pp. 262-83) p. 269. R. S. Neighbors, "The Na-u-ni, or Comanches of Texas," p. 127; in Schoolcraft, Information, II, pp. 125-34.

42. Dancing in the Peyote Rite has been found among the following tribes:

Southern Arapaho: Kroeber 1907: 403.

Comanche: U. S. Census Office 1894: 532.

Kiowa: La Barre 1935c. Gamble 1952: 100-01.

Kiowa Apache: Aberle 1955.

Mr. and Mrs. Allen P. Dale tell me they still see dancing occasionally during the Peyote rite among the Comanche and Kiowa.

43. C. Wissler, ed. Societies of the Plains Indians (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 11), New York, American Museum of Natural History, 1912-16.

44. Clark 1888; for text see note 6.

"Kahagodl," Crow's Neck, was the first of the Kiowa to have peyote; he was visiting the Apache, while on the war-path. This was before the informant's time. He brought some back to the Kiowa, but peyote didn't take until some of the Kiowa married into the Apache; these really brought it into the tribe: Hokiete and his wife (Apache), Babote and his wife (also Apache). . . . These two were chiefly re-

sponsible for Peyote in the Kiowa. They used peyote before the government came to Fort Sill [1869], but peyote died out somewhat. Informant's brother, Sankadotie, visited the Comanches and invited the Comanches to visit the Kiowa and have a meeting. They made a canvas lodge, not a tipi with altar, etc."—La Barre 1935b.

45. "The Winnebagoes seem to have had these buttons some years ago—perhaps thirty years ago—and on rare instances since, obtaining them when Comanches roved far to the north."—Meeker 1898: 2.

According to Edward Lonetree, a Wisconsin Winnebago, Peyote buttons were sometimes included in the war bundles of his tribe during the second half of the 19th century.

According to Edward Mitchell, an Omaha, his tribe's medicine bundles sometimes included Peyote buttons during the second half of the 19th century.

Section B

1. E. g., on the history of different tribal influences on Menomini Peyotism, see Slotkin 1952: 574-76. There have been inter-tribal visitors present at every occasion when I have attended the rite, and some diffusion has always taken place; for example, see Slotkin 1952: 605.

2. The following statements are suggestive, but too late to be conclusive:

"Ah-pe-a-tone, Chief of the Kiowas, follows the [Peyotist] practice—and the Ghost Dance leaders also favor [?] mescal eating."—Gassaway 1903a.

"How Quapaw got [Peyote] fireplace . . . this happened about 1891-2. This was the time when these Indians had to quit the Ghost Dance because of government action following the Sioux Outbreak at Rosebud reservation. Then John Wilson came over . . . John Quapaw, chief of the Quapaw, told me this story. He, too, was [a] peyote leader. Wilson came to the Quapaw and taught them the peyote religion."—McKern 1927.

3. "Since the pale face has taken possession of most of our country that the Great Spirit has given we red people to roam in, but all that is settled at this date, and now we are living friendly and peaceable neighbors, and the only hope we red people have is the Great Spirit above for sanction to enter the next world to come, and to guide us in this earthly world to do right by all our neighbors. That is why we red people today are seeking for something to better our tribes, and we have found this day, a way to pray to God, the Great saviour above."—Anonymous 1915: 1.

4. R. F. Benedict, "The Vision in Plains Culture," American Anthropologist, 24 (1922), pp. 1-23. Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America (Memoirs of the American Anthro-

pological Association, 29), Menasha, American Anthropological Association, 1923. Wallace & Hoebel 1952: 155-67.

5. "The poetry and mysticism of this cult supply to the modern Indian the spiritual uplift known in the old days to those who went apart to fast and learn of the spirits what should be their guiding 'medicine' through life."—Burlin 1907: 164.

6. E. g., see Radin 1920.

7. E. James, Account of an Expedition . . . to the Rocky Mountains [1822-23], II, pp. 51-52, 111; in R. G., Thwaites, Early Western Travels (Cleveland, Clark, 1904-07), XIV-XVII, Burnet,

"The Comanches and other Tribes of Texas", p. 237 Bolalaert, "Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas," pp. 267-68.

8. ". . . they are the most prosperous people of the [Winnebago] tribe. . . . Many members I have known twenty-five or thirty years, who formerly had been greatly addicted to the use of liquors and tobacco, and other vices; all have quite these bad habits and live for their religion. . . . I can see great improvement and advancement among the members. They are the best business men among this tribe, and their credit is good wherever they are known."—Roddy 1909a: 282-83.

9. "Other religions teach men what to believe, but in this religion each man learns truth for himself. God has given the mescal to man that through it man might know. There is a word that comes at the end of mescal songs and that word means 'the road.' Each man's road is shown to him within his own heart. When he eats the mescal he sees the road; he knows; he sees all the truths of life and of the spirit. . . .

"Through it we may come to know all. We eat the mescal because we want to see—we want to know—we want to know God."—Magpie 1907: 164-65.

"The white man goes into his church house and talks about Jesus; the Indian goes into his tepee and talks to Jesus."—Quanah (Comanche); in Simmons 1913: chap. 11: 2.

10. "Peyote teaches you to live patiently and do the best you can."—Skinner 1924: 242.

11. "We want to see the face of Jesus. Sometimes we do; not always. And also we want to see the faces of our dead relatives, relatives who have gone, whom we think a great deal of. We love them, and we want to see them."—La Flesche 1918: 115. Cf. Mooney 1892a.

12. ". . . sick people are given this Mescal tea. . . . Last winter Charlie Gilbert was carried into the Mescal or Peyote church . . . then he staggered around the church rising to his feet and prayed and bid goodby to his friends and said, 'I am going to Jesus' and

dropped down dead."—Semans 1911: 6.

Also, there are some who believe in a renovation of the world, more or less equivalent to Jesus' doctrine of the Kingdom of God (Mark, 1.15):

"After all tribes have eaten it [i.e., Peyote], then will come the end of the world. . . .

"When all Indians have eaten this, the world will be made over. Then all will be as he [God] wants it, and you will live on in that way. All things will be good, then. Before all Indians have eaten this, there will be a big war in the world. Your white brothers will fight against each other. But I want you to keep out of this fight."—These are statements attributed to Jesus in two versions of the origin myth given by McKern 1927.

13. "Many are drawn to this faith through the belief that its followers are cured of consumption and drunkenness—the two dread enemies of the Indian, which were unknown till the coming of the white man."—Burlin 1907:163.

14. [John] Wilson approved the use of native herbal remedies saying they would do good but he pointed out that as Peyote worshipper progressed in knowledge he could ignore the effects of the native pharmacopeia and effect his cures upon himself and others by the sole use of Peyote."—Speck 1933: 548.

"The mescal takes from us sickness and pain. It purifies us."
—Magpie 1907:165.

"It cures us of our temporal ills, as well as those of a spiritual nature."—Hensley 1908: 2.

15. McAllester 1949.

16. Mooney 1892b. Kroeber 1907: 405-10.

17. Kroeber 1907: 404.

18. "Many a young man attends his first peyote feast in order to satisfy his strong social nature. The lure of good-fellowship and music which invariably are present at these feasts is to the average Indian absolutely irresistible. Now, in dealing with this phase of the problem we should realize that camp Indians, especially the returned students, need better opportunities to satisfy, under more favorable conditions, their intense, persistent craving for social life."—Vru-wink ca. 1916: 18312.

19. ". . . the ceremony is an occasion of peace and good-feeling, which must not be disturbed."—Kroeber 1907: 400.

20. Mooney 1892a. Kroeber 1907: 410. This gift giving is traditional; see W. B. Parker, Notes Taken during the Expedition . . . through Unexplored Texas (Philadelphia, Hayes & Zell, 1856), p. 206.

21. "The younger men are attracted to its use . . . because they can rise to leadership as mescal prophets in these lodges and

gain a prominence which, under the old regime, was denied them."—Pierson 1915: 206. Cf. Vruwink 1915: 3. Vruwink ca. 1916: 18312.

22. "Felt I was a drunkard—nobody wanted me, But in Peyote all are together—feel the association helps—all are my friends—help me—felt part of them."—Eggan 1933: 66-67.

23. N. Triplett, "The Dynamogenic Factors in Pacemaking and Competition," American Journal of Psychology, 9 (1897-98), pp. 507-33.

24. F. H. Allport, Social Psychology (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1924), pp. 274-78.

24. "The leaders of this movement taught that this cacti was a revelation from God to the Indians."—Johnson 1909c: 18. Cf. Mooney 1892a.

". . . it was of God and it was given to us in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."—Whitehorn 1923: 1.

"It is utter folly for scientists to attempt to analyze this medicine. Can science analyze God's body? No White man can understand it. . . . It was given exclusively to Indians and God never intended that White men should understand it, hence the folly of any such attempt."—Hensley 1908: 2.

"I wish to say that the Peyote is not a written history, or a book available as a reading matter for study by learning its principles and doctrines. A person must actually use Peyote himself and really participate in the ceremony, for no microscope can reveal the secret therein."—McDonald & Eagle 1923: 2.

26. "As long as I am an American Indian I should like to continue our religious custom. The white man has abolished all my Indian customs, my language, and my race. I should like to save this one religious custom to my Indian brothers."—McCarthy 1918: 267. Cf. Pierson 1915: 202.

27. "They paint and dress in blankets when they go in to eat [Peyote]."—Ijams 1895: 2.

"Notify your people to put on their Indian clothes, clean ones. . . . That is how my father likes to see you dressed."—attributed to Jesus in one version of the origin myth given by McKern 1927. Cf. Laurence 1903: 148-49. Roddy 1909a: 282. Brabant 1909.

28. [The following revelation is included in one version of the cult's origin myth:] "You Indians are now fighting one another, and it is for the purpose of stopping this, that you might shake hands and partake of food together, than I am giving you this peyote. Now you should love one another."—Hensley 1909: 399.

"You must understand that this is an intertribal religion. Every tribe that has not lost entirely its old cult has a tribal religion, centering around some sacred object or palladium, but this peyote cult has come and superseded the others. In other words, the Indian,

under the influence of this peyote religion, has given up the idea that he and his tribe are for themselves alone, and is recognizing the fact of the brotherhood of the Indian race particularly, and beyond that the brotherhood of mankind."—Mooney 1918a: 88.

29. L. L. Leh, "The Shaman in Aboriginal North American Society," U. of Colorado Studies, 21 (1933-34), pp. 199-263. Wallace & Hoebel 1952: 185.

30. "[John] Wilson's teachings did not go into minute details, but . . . much was left to the individual to learn for himself while under the spiritual influence of Peyote."—Speck 1933: 546.

31. Speck 1933.

32. "Peyote disciples: These were twelve 'disciples' pledged to be the firmest peyote believers, on the analogy of the twelve disciples in Christianity . . . they were pledged to take no other religion but peyote."—La Barre 1935a.

"Twelve 'disciples' of peyote. . . . They would begin a meeting early in the morning and stay in all day. They spoke only a little, like 'Quaker meeting,' no singing or drumming (influence from Quaker missionaries and agents?) no water ceremony, drink when they like, no praying. Had 'testimony' or 'preaching' . . . have a feast at supper time. This mode of meeting didn't last long, and people began to see these disciples in regular peyote meetings. But when they were still together they did not attend ordinary meetings. They had the fire and crescent-shaped altar like the ordinary meetings, however."—La Barre 1935b.

33. Mooney 1896a: 9. Clouse 1902: 1-2. Gassaway 1903b: 5-6. Kroeber 1907: 320-21. Burlin 1907: 163. Roe 1908. Green 1909a. Shell 1909a. Brabant 1909. Roe 1911: 44. Watermulder 1914: 71. Mooney 1918a: 63. Cf. Spindler 1952. 1955. Spindler & Goldschmidt 1952.

34. "Christ is the mescal goddess, the presiding goddess of the ceremony."—Mooney 1892b: 65.

35. "Mescal is a person. . . . Mescal lives in the sun."—Meeker 1896: 3-4.

"During . . . revelations in the realm above, while under the guidance of Peyote, he [i.e., John Wilson] knew that Peyote was a person, that is had human form of great size but he never actually saw him."—Speck 1933: 542.

". . . believing it to possess the attributes of an intelligent being."—Simmons 1913: chap. 2:2.

36. "I was informed by [Ponca] members that out of the 'bean' lying on the crescent-shaped altar in the center of the tent, there would emerge the body of our Saviour, visible only in this form to those members who partook of a sufficient number of beans to obtain

this concession from the Deity."—Brabant 1909.

"The mescal chiefs told me that it was the same as Jesus and the One that saves me would teach me wisdom."—Two Babies 1911: 46.

37. "John [Rave] pointed to the Mescal or Peyote bean and said that is the Holy Ghost."—H. Rave 1911: 3. Cf. Semans 1911: 2-3.

38. "It came from God. It is part of God's body. God's Holy Spirit is enveloped in it."—Hensley 1908: 2.

"Earthmaker [equated with God] is my father. . . . I have placed my holiness in this that you eat. What my father gave me, that I have placed therein."—Hensley 1909: 399.

39. ". . . the songs usually refer to the peyote itself, to the birds regarded as its messengers."—Kroeker 1907: 403.

40. Cf. Annual Report of the Indian Rights Association, 8 (1891), pp. 44-45.

41. "The word road, as used by the Indians, means way of doing or thinking. . . . The expression, 'I will give you a good road,' is often used by Indians in connection with medicine making."—Simmons 1913: iv; chap. 8:6.

"[John Wilson] was shown, always under the guidance of Peyote, the 'Road' which led from the grave of Christ to the Moon in the Sky which Christ had taken in his ascent. He was told by Peyote to walk in this path or 'Road' for the rest of his life, advancing step by step as his knowledge would increase through the use of the peyote, remaining faithful to its teachings using the plant with a desire to learn and benefit by the knowledge that would come to him when under its influence, he would finally, just before his death, bring him into the actual presence of Christ and of Peyote. The 'Road' referred to Wilson was accustomed to denote as 'Our Creator's Road.'"—Speck 1933: 542. Cf. J. Rave 1912: 393.

42. "When I eat it I feel happy and good and thank God for his many gifts. As we use peoti in our meetings we realize we have to die and it aids us to do right, it helps us to live better lives and enjoy happier experiences."—Black Dog 1908: 6.

"They believe the mescal to have some mysterious influence which shows them what is right and helps them to do it."—Green 1909.

". . . through the use of peyote in our religious ceremonies our thoughts better turn to the goodness of our Heavenly Father and we are brought in closer touch with spiritual things. Therefore, we believe that God has created this herb for the purpose of bringing the light into the minds of our members that we are made in his likeness and image and that we should strive to be like him."—Whitehorn 1923: 1-2.

"When you eat this, you will learn that which you did not know before. Then you will worship my father, me and the Holy Ghost."—Attributed to Jesus in one version of the origin myth given by McKern 1927.

"Eat the medicine, and let it teach you. Something will come into your mind which you never knew before."—McKern 1927.

43. Lamere 1910: 394. Semans 1911: 4. Bull Bear 1912. La Flesche 1916a: 101. McCarthy 1918: 267. Mooney 1918a: 89. Speck 1933: 546-47.

44. Espinosa, Chronica apostolica, pp. 424-26. E. James, Account of an Expedition . . . to the Rocky Mountains, II, pp. 51-52, 111. Burnet, "The Comanches and other Tribes of Texas," p. 237. Bollaert, "Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas," pp. 267-68. Wallace & Hoebel 1952: 186-90.

45. "They parted their hair from the centre of the forehead back to the crown, and made a streak of yellow, white, or red, along the divide."—Parker, Notes Taken during the Expedition . . . through Unexplored Texas, p. 197.

46. "Most of the adherents of peyote part their hair in the middle and rub on a reddish substance. This is to be a daily reminder to them, as they perform their early morning toilet, that they must travel on a straight road (similar to the straight part in the hair) each day of their lives, so that they may merit eternal happiness. The red in the hair part signifies fire, sun."—Anonymous n.d. 696.

47. Bourke, "The Medicine-Men of the Apache," p. 479. Kroeber 1907: 401.

48. Burlin 1907: 163-64. Kroeber 1907: 352.

49. Mooney 1892b: 65. Laurence 1903: 149-50. Brabant 1909.

50. D. Massanet, "Letter to C. de Siguenza, 1690," p. 381; in H. E. Bolton, ed., Spanish Explorations in the Southwest (New York, Scribner, 1916), pp. 347-87.

51. Mooney 1897: 332.

52. "[The Kiowa] claim [the visions] to be revelations from the Great Spirit and Jesus."—Burdette 1895: 48.

"If you want to know how Christ was crucified, go into the mescal tepee. . . . Then pray, internally, to know what you want to know. Mescal will tell you. . . . You will see wonderful things. You will see angels and you will see a man coming out of the sun clothed in shining clothes."—Meeker 1896:4.

53. E. g., the Lipan knew of Tarahumara Peyotism (Mooney 1900: xvi), and the latter contained many Christian elements; see especially Lumholtz 1902: I: 360-72.

54. "Boigya . . . prophesied that the whites would be wiped out. . . . A great cyclone would come; he told the Kiowas to come with him on Elk Creek, and that those who did not come would be destroyed like the whites. People came from all around. . . . The Peyote people stayed near Mt. Scott; the informant and his brother did not go to Elk Creek,"—La Barre 1935b.

"Informant was grown man, married at time of prophet (his wife's father was a believer); also was a peyote man—antagonism with his father-in-law as a result, and they hardly associated with each other. The Sun-people were against peyote because of its Christian elements. . . . The group was bitterly opposed to peyote; they would not even use the white man's matches. Informant's father-in-law didn't like to have him around for fear that informant, a peyote man, might have some peyote in his possession, and other members had a similar dread of matches or peyote being near them. Peyotism, they said, was against the Ten Medicine religion (native) and therefore this group was against peyote (as of foreign origin). . . . Peyote and Ten Medicine religion is compatible for the informant. . . . The club was bitter and made fun of peyote. Apietan and Ongotoya took a rotten bear head and lifting up the tipi cover, threw it into the tipi where a peyote meeting was in progress."—La Barre 1935a.

"At about the same time that Poigya [same as Boigya above] organized his group the first peyote meetings were held at Mt. Scott. Poigya instructed his men to fight peyote. The Payui [Sons of the Sun] hated peyote men so much that one would throw away a cup drunk out of by a peyote man. The peyote men ignored the payui; said eventually they would want to take up peyote.

"Big Bow, Apiton and Lone Bear hid a decayed bear's head in a peyote tipi. The smell was noticed and the head thrown out. The peyote men did nothing about it except to sing a song which told how soon the payui would join peyote. . . .

"From 1890 on Poigya lost followers who went over to peyote. He died in 1898 and at his death the payui disintegrated entirely, the remaining members joining peyote."—D. Collier 1935.

Section C

1. Stewart 1944: 103-21. 1948: 19-30.

2. "There are two sects [among the Osage], the East Moon and the West Moon, most of the Osages belonging to the East Moon branch. . . .

"The East Moon sect pray to Jesus Christ as the divine leader; the priest, or head man, sits in the west and faces east. The West Moon adherents pray to Peyote, or the Moon Head, and call upon the sun, moon, fire, morning star, and natural phenomena."—Anonymous n.d.: 695.

3. "We read in the Bible where Christ spoke of a Comforter who was to come [John, 14, 16, 26]. Long ago this Comforter came to the Whites, but it never came to the Indians until it was sent by God in the form of this Holy medicine. . . . It was given exclusively to Indians and God never intended that White men should understand it."—Hensley 1908: 1-2. Cf. Hensley 1909: 399-400. Roe 1911: 44. Pierson 1915: 201. Anonymous n.d.: 695. Vruwink ca. 1916: 18313.

4. Lamere 1910: 394. Radin 1923: 420. Cf. Skinner 1915: 693, 724, 726, 758.

When Peyotists conceive of themselves as Christians, their exclusiveness does not always apply to White Christian denominations; see Warden 1918: 191. Curtis 1930: 200.

5. "One of the best meetings that I ever attended was at the home of Quanah Parker about four years ago [i.e., ca. 1909]. . . . They prayed to God and to Jesus."—Simmons 1913: chap. 8: 2-3. Cf. H. Rave 1911: 3. Lamere 1910: 394-95.

6. E. g., among the Winnebago; see Roddy 1909a: 283. J. Rave 1912: 392.

7. The following two cases are from the Winnebago:
 "I remember one time Hiram Chase said in my hearing, 'I saw Jesus' picture in the bean soup,' meaning the Mescal or Peyote tea."—Semans 1911: 6-7.

"I see snakes, and all kinds of animals just like circus pictures passing before me, and many kinds of animals I never see before. I see picture of devil with red clothes and horns on his head. I saw pictures of like Jesse James and lots of bad men passing before me and then some more devils coming out."—H. Rave 1911: 1.

8. Evidently the Bible was first included in the Peyote rite among the Oto, ca. 1900. According to Jack Koshiway and Truman Dailey, an Oto, Harry Childs, read the Bible during a year's imprisonment at Leavenworth Penitentiary, about 1900. When freed, he returned to his tribe and introduced the Bible into the Peyote rite. (This information was not verified. I was told the Oto tribal records were destroyed by fire, and Leavenworth Penitentiary has no record of anyone by the name of Harry Childs.)

A Winnebago, Albert Hensley, seems to have adopted the Bible from the Oto and introduced it to his own tribe (La Barre 1938: 179. Ellis 1909: 32. Lamere 1910: 394-95). If this is true, then the tradition may be wrong that the Bible was introduced among the Winnebago as a defense against White anti-Peyotism (H. Rave 1911: 2. Tebo 1917: 31. Slotkin 1952: 618).

9. "After eating peyote, I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me."—Lamere 1910: 395.

"People frequently receive new interpretations of the Bible

through the medium of peyote and when such sudden understandings occur at peyote meetings they are told to the assembled groups."—Lurie 1951: 10.

10. For further details, see Laurence 1903: 149-50. Roddy 1909a. Skinner 1915: 724-28. Lamere 1910. Radin 1914: 10-12. 1923: 420-26.

11. Ellis 1909: 32. Roddy 1909a: 282. Anonymous n. d.: 696. Curtis 1930: 211.

12. For texts of songs, see Lamere 1910: 395. Skinner 1915: 728. For music see Densmore 1938. Densmore 1941. McAllester 1949: 87-88.

13. Ellis 1909: 32. Lamere 1910: 395. Radin 1914: 3. 1923: 389. Skinner 1915: 725.

14. Murie 1914: 637. Lamere 1910: 395. Skinner 1915: 725-26.

15. Lamere 1910: 395. Radin 1914: 14. 1923: 413.

16. Lamere 1910: 395. Radin 1914: 3. 1923: 388. Skinner 1915: 726. Confession is aboriginal; see La Barre 1947: 301-07. However, in Peyotism it seems to have been greatly influenced by White customs.

17. Lamere 1910: 395. Semans 1911: 4-5. Roe 1911: 44. Radin 1914: 3-5. Radin 1923: 389. Skinner 1915: 726.

18. "John Wilson . . . has been away doing missionary [work]." —Ijams 1895: 1.

"The sect even sent out missionaries to various tribes."—Johnson 1909c: 18.

"The Winnebagoes have sent out missionaries to other Indian tribes, teaching this doctrine, administering the rites and arranging for the supply of peyotes to the adherents of the faith."—Johnson 1909d: 2.

"Rave's frequent absence on proselytizing mission."—Radin 1914: 7.

19. "A regular missionary propaganda, similar to that of the Mormon church, is carried on by the more established 'peyote lodges.' Attractive young men are sent out by twos to visit other reservations and encourage their cult."—Pierson 1915: 206.

20. "Albert Hensley, a leader of the Mescal or Peyote religion . . . has twelve men who are his apostles, the best six of them sitting on his right hand whenever they have meetings, and the six who are not so much good on his left hand."

"The apostles were dressed all in white."—Semans 1911: 1. Cf. Ellis 1909: 32.

". . . The early adherents from Nebraska dressed in robes such as Biblical characters wear in popular illustrations and religious statuary."—Lurie 1954.

21. "At every phase of the peyote cult's development, Rave had to contend with the hostility of the conservative members of his tribe. . . . The explanation I obtained was always the same,—that their hostility was due to the fact that the teachings of the peyote departed from those of their ancestors, and that the peyote people were aping the habits of the whites."—Radin, 1914: 17-18. Cf. Burlin 1907: 164. Stucki 1909. Roddy 1909b. Radin 1920: 430-32. Radin 1923: 397, 420-21, 425-26. J. Collier 1923: 203.

"Outside [i.e., non-Peyote] Indians persecuted peyote people; kicked them thru walls of tent [i.e., ritual tipi]. When [Peyotists] went into crowd, people pointed them out and said, 'Here is a Jesus.' —McKern 1927.

22. Leh, "The Shaman in Aboriginal North American Society,"

23. "The old-time medicine men are opposed to the use of peyote."—Sloan 1915: 82. Cf. Curtis 1926: 53. Curtis 1930: 202; see Curtis 1907: 42-43. Opler 1936: 150-51. Opler 1938: 282.

24. C. Wissler, Indian Cavalacade (New York, Sheridan House, 1938), pp. 192, 199-201.

25. The most vocal marginal anti-Peyotist in this period was Mrs. Gertrude Bonnin.

CHAPTER V

Section A

1. A list of allotted reservations, 1900-10, will be found in J. P. Kinney, A Continent Lost—A Civilization Won (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937), pp. 245-46.

2. U.S. Supreme Court, "Lone Wolf vs. Hitchcock," Reports, 187 (1902), pp. 553-68.

3. U.S. Statutes at Large, 35 (1907-09), p. 73.

4. F. E. Leupp, The Indian and His Problem (New York, Scribner, 1910), p. 36. Leupp 1914: 52, 54.

5. U.S. Statutes at Large, 34 (1905-07), pp. 182-83.

6. U.S. Statutes at Large, 43 (1923-25), p. 253.

7. "The notion has obtained that the Indians were not capable of thinking for themselves, of having sentiments like other human beings, therefore they were not consulted or allowed a voice in the management of their personal affairs. Laws have been enacted, and policies put into practice regardless of the Indians' wishes and not infrequently to their injury."—La Flesche 1916a: 101.

8. The classic exposition of White American cultural pluralism is H. M. Kallen, Culture and Democracy in the United States, New York, Boni & Liveright, 1924.

9. U.S. Statutes at Large, 48 (1933-34), pp. 984-88.
10. The following are the most important documents:
U.S. Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Committee on Indian Affairs, Report, Washington, Commission on Organization, 1948, (mimeographed).
- U.S. Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Social Security and Education—Indian Affairs (Reports, 4. 2) (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949), pp. 53-81.
- U.S. Congress, Joint Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs, Termination of Federal Supervision over Certain Tribes of Indians (Hearings on S. 2670, H. R. 7674, etc., 83rd Congress, 2nd Session), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954.
11. U.S. Statutes at Large, 67 (1953), pp. 586-87.

Section B

1. ". . . the Indian makes the assumption that Indians are powerless to affect decisions concerning their fate and must accept such decisions as others make. . . . It is worthy of note that most Indian assumptions are negative, unenthusiastic and fearful—the outlook of a beaten people."

—J. Province, et al., "The American Indian in Transition," p. 393; in American Anthropologist, 56 (1954), pp. 387-94.

2. "The purposes of this Society shall be:

"First. To promote and co-operate with all efforts looking to the advancement of the Indian in enlightenment which leaves him free as a man to develop according to the natural laws of social evolution.

"Second. To provide, through our open conference, the means for a free discussion on all subjects bearing on the welfare of the race.

"Third. To present in a just light a true history of the race, to preserve its records and to emulate its distinguishing virtues.

"Fourth. To promote citizenship among Indians and to obtain the rights thereof.

"Fifth. To establish a legal department to investigate Indian problems, and to suggest and obtain remedies.

"Sixth. To exercise the right to oppose any movement which may be detrimental to the race.

"Seventh. To direct its energies exclusively to general principles and universal interest, and not itself to be used for any personal or private interest.

"The honor of the race and the good of the country will always be paramount."—Society of American Indians, Constitution and By-Laws: Lawrence Revision (Washington, Society of American Indians,

1916), pp. 3-4, Cf. the following:

Society of American Indians, Report of the Executive Council on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference, Washington, Society of American Indians, 1912.

American Indian Magazine, 1913-20.

Eastman, C. E., The Indian Today (New York, Doubleday Page, 1915), pp. 130-34.

3. The fascist character of the Federation is given in U.S. Congress, House, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States (Hearings on H. Res. 282, 75th Congress, 3rd Session) (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1938-42), IV, pp. 2435-2508; VI, pp. 4028, 4032, 4131-32. New York Times, Nov. 24, 1938, p. 1, col. 2; p. 31, col. 2. A publication of the American Indian Federation was First American, 1937-40.

4. "We, the members of Indian tribes of the United States of America invoking the Divine guidance of Almighty God in order to secure to ourselves and our descendants the rights and benefits to which we are entitled under the laws of the United States, the several States thereof, and the Territory of Alaska; to enlighten the public toward a better understanding of the Indian race; to preserve Indian cultural values; to seek an equitable adjustment of tribal affairs; to secure and to preserve rights under Indian treaties or agreements with the United States; and otherwise to promote the common welfare of the American Indians, do establish this organization."—National Congress of American Indians, Constitution and By-Laws (Phoenix, National Congress of American Indians, 1953, mimeographed), preamble. Cf. The following: National Congress of American Indians, News Bulletin, 1953-.

5. J. S. Slotkin, "An Intertribal Dance Contest," Journal of American Folklore, 68 (1955), pp. 224-28.

6. J. S. Slotkin, The Menomini Powwow Religion. Accepted for publication by the Milwaukee Public Museum.

7. "Among the Indians of Oklahoma there is great religious activity. Last year [1913] I met many native preachers, and heard of numerous meetings at various campgrounds. I was surprised at the extent of these, and the number of Indians attending such gatherings."—W. K. Moorehead, The American Indian in the United States (Andover, Andover Press, 1914), p. 283.

Section C

1. "The spread of the peyote habit in various forms is alarming. The Indians on eighteen reservations in the various States already are largely adherents of the peyote cult."—Welsh 1918:2.

2. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Regulations of the Indian Department (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1884), pp. 89-90.

". . . the information now at hand concerning the physiological and sociological results of the use of this drug is such that the office [of Indian Affairs] will in every way practicable prevent the Indians from indulging in it further. . . .

"Even if the physiological effects of this drug were not serious, its use would have to be prohibited for the same sociological reasons as have led the Government strongly but tactfully to modify Indian dances."—R. G. Valentine, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 35; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1911, pp. 5-51.

3. "Every intelligent person knows that such violent sensations can be indulged in only at the expense of mind and body."—Vruwink 1915: 1. ca. 1916: 18310.

4. J. D. Reichard, "Addiction," American Journal of Psychiatry, 103 (1946-47), pp. 721-30.

5. E. g., Mooney 1896a: 8. Slotkin 1952: 569-70.

6. "I have your [i.e., J. Collier's] letter of December 27, 1944, in which you ask the question, 'Has any addiction to peyote been treated at the narcotic farms [under the Narcotic Addict Farm Act], or has any peyote 'addict' been admitted to them, or have they accumulated any experience in this matter of peyote?'

"The records in the Washington office did not indicate that any peyote addicts had been admitted to either of the narcotic hospitals, but in order to be doubly sure I referred your question to the Medical Officer in Charge of each of the hospitals. I have just received their replies which corroborate our records. No peyote addicts have been admitted to either of the hospitals and no one of either staff has had any experience with that type of addict."—U.S. Public Health Service 1945.

"To the best of our knowledge, there has never been a patient admitted in either the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital, Lexington, Kentucky, or the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital at Fort Worth, Texas, for treatment of addiction to Peyote."—U.S. Public Health Service 1955.

"About 10 years ago, Dr. [M.] Seavers states, he began a study of peyote and mescaline, with the desire to find out whether long use with large doses would cause any injury to the individual. In conducting this research, the drug was given to animals. Large doses were given daily to monkeys and dogs. He stated that monkeys and dogs can take such large doses every day for a year with small effect, and that upon examination, their brains showed none of the damage which commonly occurs with the use of other drugs. Further, when the drug was discontinued, there was no withdrawal sickness.

"Peyote and mescaline were then given to prisoners at the Narcotics Farm in Kentucky. These men, Dr. Seavers stated, had been imprisoned there for violation of federal narcotic laws in the use of opium and other such drugs. Generally, they are anxious to obtain

any kind of drug that will make them feel good since they can be happy and normal only if they satisfy the serious drug habit which they have developed. If they can not obtain the opium, cocaine, etc. to which they are accustomed, they will often rob, steal or even kill to obtain a supply. So mescaline and peyote were given to these addicts, and they became very unhappy because it made them sick, excited and wakeful, and they refused to continue to take it. 'Therefore, we do not believe that peyote is a drug of addiction like opium,' Dr. Seevers said."—Navajo Tribal Council 1954: June 1, pp. 5-6.

7. "As far as I know, the Indians use it only to make medicine, as they term it, a ceremony peculiar to them, in invoking the great spirit to heal the afflicted one, and do not use it as a physical remedy. I never knew of a case that became addicted to it."—Knott 1895. Cf. Mooney 1896a: 9-10. 1897: 329. 1915: 69. 1918: 61-62. Kroeker 1907: 321. Russell 1909.

8. "From the beginning it has been condemned without investigation . . . no agency physician, post surgeon, missionary, or teacher—with a single exception—has ever tested the plant or witnessed the ceremony."—Mooney 1896a: 7.

9. The classic American physiological investigation was by D. W. Prentiss and F. P. Morgan, "Anhalonium lewini (Mescal Buttons)," Therapeutic Gazette, (ser. 3) 11 (1895), pp. 577-85. "Therapeutic Uses of Mescal Buttons (Anhalonium lewini)," ibid., (ser. 3) 12 (1896), pp. 4-7.

After reading the findings of Prentiss & Morgan, Mooney stated, ". . . such feelings are entirely foreign to my own experience or to that of any Indian with whom I have talked."—Mooney 1896a: 11.

10. A characteristic modern description of the responses of Whites to Peyote under clinical conditions is P. H. Hoch, "Experimental Induction of Psychoses"; in S. Cobb, ed., The Biology of Mental Health and Disease (Annual Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund, 27) (New York, Hoeber, 1952), pp. 539-47.

Compare this with the description of the responses of Indian Peyotists and White observers in Slotkin 1952. Cf. Slotkin 1954. It seems to me that people with the responses described by Hoch would be unable to carry on the simplest organized activity, let alone the complex and solemn Peyote rite.

11. "Another serious result of the use of this drug is the refusal of those who take it to submit to rational treatment by the physician."—Lloyd 1916: 16.

12. E. g., Mooney 1896a: 9.

Ironically, a future Commissioner of Indian Affairs who instituted the first organized anti-Peyotist campaign in 1908-09, had this to say a few years earlier:

"I tried to find some mescal wrecks such as are often pointed out among whites as victims of toxic drugs, but could not discover

any; the Indians who talked to me with the utmost freedom of their indulgence were certainly as well preserved as any I met. . . . The mescal is certainly a medicine, and both inward and outward applications are described by the Indians as producing wonderful curative effects in certain diseases. One Indian, who was dismissed from Carlisle school as a hopeless consumptive, fell back upon mescal after exhausting the recognized pharmacopoeia, and is today as fine a specimen of health and strength as I could wish to look at."—Leupp 1903: 23.

13. E. g., Slotkin 1952: 570.

14. "The practice . . . is perhaps the chief hindrance to the efforts of the missionaries. . . . All the missionaries use their best efforts to discourage the practice."—Gassaway 1903a.

"One of the worst results of its use is that it erects a very strong barrier in the way of the presentation of the Christian religion to any tribe that has adopted its use, and is an attempt on the part of the more enlightened of the Indians to establish a racial and tribal religion as against what they call the white man's religion." —Roe 1908. Cf. Roe 1911: 45. Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, "Letter to the Secretary of Interior, March 9, 1911," p. 42; in U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Indian Affairs 1918a: 42-43. Newberne 1922: 8.

"It is the missionaries that are continually writing about the peyote orgies, etc. . . . From what I can learn, their fight is not based upon the actual physical harm done the Indian by the use of peyote—that is an excuse to offer the public—but it is because the peyote church is gaining more converts than the missionaries. . . . Instead of going about quietly and really studying the drug or have it investigated by men qualified to do so, they jump in and begin telling the Indian it is no good, he is a fool to use it, and Uncle Sam is going to stop it, etc., and write letters about the peyote meetings that are as far from the truth (some of them) as we are from the sun."—Anonymous 1923.

15. "Everywhere . . . is mingled among them [i.e., Christians] a certain religion of lust . . . they worship the genitals of their pontiff and priest, and adore the nature, as it were, of their common parent. . . . An infant . . . is slain . . . they lick up its blood; eagerly they divide its limbs. . . . On a solemn day they assemble at the feast, with all their children, sisters, mothers, people of every sex and age. There, after much feasting, when the fellowship has grown warm, and the fervour of incestuous lust has grown hot with drunkenness . . . light being overturned and extinguished in the shameless darkness, the connections of abominable lust involve them in the uncertainty of fate."—Minucius, *Octavius*, ed. J. P. Waltzing (Leipzig, Teubner, 1926), 9; tr. R. E. Wallis, Buffalo, Christian Literature Publ., 1885.

16. "I have been told repeatedly by those who have given up the practice that the so-called 'mescal feasts' were often scenes of unbridled libertinism."—Roe 1911: 45.

17. "The dance and ceremonies of the Woqui [i.e., Peyote] lodges are not a debauch, but are solemn devotional services. The Indians should not be disturbed in these ceremonies."—U.S. Census Office 1894: 532.

"Several reports have come to me of immoral practices in connection with these meetings. These have been investigated and I have been unable to find grounds for such reports."—Green 1909a.

"There is nothing at all bad about it, nothing whatever in the nature of an orgy. I can say from experience that there is nothing that the most rigid white man could consider immorality."—Mooney 1915: 72.

18. E. g., Bruce 1949.

19. ". . . we [i.e., the Bureau of Indian Affairs] have discouraged its use wherever we could, but there is no legislation, to my knowledge, prohibiting its use on Indian reservations, but we have used the influence of the Bureau to discourage it in every way."—E. B. Meritt; in U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee of Indian Affairs 1918: 48.

"Mr. Carter. So you have no authority for the suppression of peyote at all?

"Mr. Meritt. No, sir."—U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations 1922: 185.

20. "Being convinced from what I learn from various sources, which I deem reliable, that many Indians on this Reservation are using Mescal Beans to the extent of impairing their minds and physical strength: that some Indians have died from the excessive use of these beans: that they are in fact destructive to both the health and mental faculties of the Indians and will soon greatly decimate them, if their use is not checked.

"Wherefore all Indians on this Reservation are hereby forbidden to eat any of said beans, or to drink any decoction, or fomentation thereof, or liquor distilled therefrom, or to sell or give to any Indian, or have in his possession, any of these beans. Any Indian convicted of violating this order will be punished by the cutting off of his annuity goods and rations according to the aggravation of the case. And in extreme cases the grass money will be cut off.

"This order is for the good of the Indians—many of whom are being destroyed by the use of this bean. And I hereby call upon all chiefs and head men and all good Indians of every class to aid and assist me in enforcing this order. It is solely for their own welfare."—White 1888b.

21. "It is the duty of the government peremptorily to stop the use of this bean by Indians. You will direct the police of your agency to seize and destroy the mescal bean, or any preparation of deco-

tion thereof, wherever found on the reservation. The article itself, and those who use it are to be treated exactly as if it were alcohol or whisky, or a compound thereof; in fact it may be classified for all practical purposes as an 'intoxicating liquor.'"-U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff. 1890.

Evidently there was also an earlier regulation prohibiting Peyote, namely, an "Office Letter, July 27, 1890" from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (quot. Browning 1896); I have not been able to locate the original.

22. ". . . since its use is injurious to the mind and bodily strength, and will even cause death, the office can not permit such a practice to continue."—R. G. Valentine, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 14; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1909, pp. 1-75.

"I know . . . that the Secretary [of the Interior] or the Commissioner [of Indian Affairs] issued orders to the agents on the reservations, and I thought they were acting under existing law."—C. Curtis; in U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs 1918a: 49.

"We are encouraging our superintendents to suppress its use."—E. B. Meritt; in U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations 1924: 720.

23. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."—U.S. Constitution, amend. 1.

24. "I . . . saw what purported to be a petition from that [Peyotist] society of Bennett County, South Dakota, asking that they be allowed to use peyote, and that they should not be interfered with or prosecuted or arrested. I am happy to say that the Indian Office did not acquiesce, as I saw their answer. The authorities say they desire to put down this evil, but are up against the fact that it is a religious institution and comes within the Constitution of the United States."—E. Ashley; in Lake Mohonk Conference 1914: 76.

25. U.S. Statutes at Large, 34 (1905-07), p. 1017.

26. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1908a. 1908b.

27. For organization and activities, see W. E. Johnson, Suppression of the Liquor Traffic among Indians (U.S. Congress, Documents and Reports, ser. 5943, no. 767), Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911.

28. "By these methods I annihilated the whole peyote business and for nearly a year there was no peyote to be had. I succeeded in this without any law, but by following these 'rabbit-foot' practices. Finally politics got into the situation in the department and my work was ruined. The traffic was reopened."—Johnson 1918: 4682.

It would be interesting to know the steps taken by Peyotists in their defense. The only document known to me is Kickapoo Peyotists 1909.

28a. "Some time ago, the Indian Office called my attention to the fact that the appropriation under which I am operating is confined in its objects to suppressing the liquor traffic among Indians and instructing me that I should not go outside of this. Under this situation, I am unable to take care of peyote matters further."—Johnson 1911a.

"The proposed campaign against this drug was abandoned by the Superintendents, owing to the receipt of instructions from Washington."—Freer 1911.

I have been unable to locate Washington orders referred to in the above letters.

29. "I followed this [1909] campaign up, but during the past eight months the traffic has been gaining, until now it has nearly resumed its old-time proportions. The reason for this is that during this time I have had no funds available for continuing this work. The funds at my disposal are limited to suppressing the liquor traffic among Indians, and peyote is not a liquor.

"I urge that the appropriation for the fiscal year 1913 be increased, and made available for 'the suppression of the traffic in intoxicants among Indians.'"—Johnson 1911b: 14.

30. The following is a list of versions in H. R. 26874, 62nd Congress, 3rd Session:

"For the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors among Indians."—Original House and Senate bills.

"For the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors and deleterious drugs, herbs, or plants among Indians."—Bill as reported out by the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs.

"For the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors and peyote among Indians."—Compromise of Senate and House Conferences Committees. MS. Chicago, Newberry Library, Ayer Collection. Cf. the following:

Congressional Record, 49 (1912-13), pt. 5, pp. 4551, 4665.

Documents and Reports, ser. 6334, no. 1605; ser. 6365, no. 1128.

The bill was finally tabled; no appropriation was passed that session.

31. The following bills contained the word "peyote" in some version:

H. R. 1817, 63rd Congress, 1st Session [1913]

H. R. 8696, 65th Congress, 2nd Session [1918]

H. R. 7848, 67th Congress, 1st Session [1921]

32. U.S. Statutes at Large, 42 (1921-23), p. 1182, to 48 (1933-34), p. 366.

33. "It has never been classed with the deleterious drugs under the Harrison Narcotic Act. The only warrant for calling it deleterious is that this language was placed in the [Indian Affairs] appropriation act a good many years ago, through the initiative of the Indi-

an Office . . . the particular history of the thing is this, that the Bureau of [American] Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, had been making a study of the peyote church, and of the use of the drug, under Mr. Mooney. . . . He was one of the leading ethnologists of the Smithsonian Institution, and Mooney reached the conclusion that the drug was not injurious, and that it should be privileged, as being a religious affair.

"Certain missionaries, whom you may say are competing with peyote missionaries to convert the pagan Indians, took issue with Mooney. In other words, there is a conflict between the peyote church and some of the denominational groups on the same reservations.

"Commissioner Burke took the view [of the missionaries]. . . .

"As a result of that controversy between Mr. Burke, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Smithsonian scientists, Commissioner Burke came up here [i.e., to Congress] and got this language put into the appropriation act. It was never done on the basis of any showing that peyote was a deleterious drug."—J. Collier; in U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations 1935: 690-91.

34. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1910. Simmons 1913: chap. 1: 1-2.

35. For example, Peyote is not included in any of the following laws:

- U.S. Statutes at Large, 38 (1913-15), p. 785.
- 42 (1921-23), p. 596.
- 53 (1939), pp. 382-87.
- 60 (1946), pp. 38-40.
- 68A (1954), pp. 557-58, 560-61.

". . . the Harrison Narcotic Law covers only opium, coca leaves, their salts and derivatives, and any preparation or remedy containing any of them in certain quantities. It is suggested that some reference be made to this matter in your report to Congress, calling attention to the necessity for legislation on this subject."—U.S. Bureau of Internal Revenue 1915.

"Peyote does not come within the provisions of the Federal narcotic laws which are under the supervision of this office."—U.S. Bureau of Narcotics 1951.

36. U.S. Statutes at Large, 45 (1927-29), p. 1085.

37. U.S. Statutes at Large, 52 (1938), p. 1050.

38. "What other construction can the department place upon the intent of the law, after a word [i.e., Peyote] has been included by one House that was later stricken from the bill in the other Chamber, than that Congress did not intent to include that word in the law itself? This must be the reasonable conclusion of the department."—B. L. French; in Congressional Record, 64 (1922-23), pt. 2, p. 1070.

39. The following extracts refer to the Indian Affairs Appropriation Bills:

"Mr. Parrish. I should like to ask the gentleman from Arkansas how the traffic in this drug can be suppressed without a Federal law?

Mr. Tillman. It is impossible to do that, and we are trying to get such an act through Congress. . . .

Mr. Sanders of Indiana. How are you going to suppress it by the Federal Government; if there is no criminal law on the subject, how can you suppress it?"—Congressional Record, 61 (1921), pt. 5, pp. 4687-88.

"I lay down this proposition: This bill does not propose constructive legislation, but rather it is a formal appropriation bill making available funds with which to carry on activities heretofore authorized by law. We have no law against the importation and use of peyote, and certainly no law against its use for sacramental purposes.

"The phrase 'including peyote' injected in this appropriation bill does not constitute a valid criminal statute. If this item stands unamended, it will have no valid force or effect, and will but add another 'bluff' to that long list of deceits, misrepresentations, and broken promises dealt out to the Indians since the discovery of America. If this bill passes unamended, and thereafter an Indian or any person imports or possesses peyote, such act will violate no valid law. If, thereafter, an Indian in possession of peyote was caught, no reputable prosecutor would file complaint. But if complaint was filed, no conviction would be had. And if complaint was filed and conviction was had, such conviction would not stand in any appellate court in the country."—J. W. E. Thomas; in Congressional Record, 65 (1924), pt. 2, p. 1424.

"The language of this appropriation was changed a few years ago to include the suppression of the traffic in peyote, but practically nothing can be done to suppress that evil because there is no substantive law specifically prohibiting traffic in peyote and providing a penalty for violations of the law. Bills have been submitted for that purpose, but none of them has become law."—E. B. Meritt; in U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations 1928: 122.

40. U.S. Treasury Department 1910.

". . . customs officers are not authorized to seize any merchandise unless its importation is prohibited by law or it is imported contrary to law."—U.S. Treasury Department 1914.

41. U.S. Statutes at Large, 38 (1913-15), pp. 785-90.

42. U.S. Bureau of Internal Revenue 1915: For text see note 35.

43. "Mr. Crampton. The Harrison Narcotic Act will not reach peyote?"

"Mr. Meritt. No, sir. . . .

"Mr. Crampton. Has it presented to the Attorney General. . . . ?

"Mr. Meritt. The matter has been taken up, and it was decided that the law did not apply to peyote."—U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations 1928: 122.

I have been unable to locate the opinion of the Attorney General referred to.

44. U.S. Department of the Interior 1908.

45. U.S. Bureau of Chemistry 1915b. Cf. 1915a.

46. "The instructions . . . are hereby rescinded and no further restraint should be placed upon shipments of peyote or mescal buttons offered for entry at the ports."—U.S. Food and Drug Administration 1937.

47. U.S. Post Office Department 1917.

48. "There is no law I can cite that prohibit its transmission in the mails."—U.S. Postoffice Department 1940.

49. "Copies of prior rulings as to the mailability of Peyote are not available at this time. However, the matter is classed as mailable."—U.S. Post Office Department 1954.

50. See particularly the references to Mooney and La Flesche.

51. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1918.

52. An early case seems to have been Territory of Oklahoma vs. Taylor et al., tried Feb. 26 and July 22, 1907, at Kingfisher, Oklahoma, in which the defendants were acquitted. I have not been able to find the testimony or decision. Documents relating to the case will be found in the following:

U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Peyote Correspondence, Chief Special Officer, pt. 1c.

U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Peyote Correspondence, Oklahoma Agencies, Cheyenne and Arapaho—Vices; Kiowa and Comanche—Vices.

Later cases are:

U.S. District Court, Wisconsin, Eastern District 1914. U.S. District Court, South Dakota, Western Division 1916.

53. "No interference with Indian religious life or ceremonial expression will hereafter be tolerated. The cultural liberty of Indians is in all respects to be considered equal to that of any non-Indian group."—U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1934. Cf. U.S. Dept. of the Interior 1936b. 1936c.

54. Easterlin 1941. Bromberg 1942. For an example of the general attack on the policy of religious freedom for Indians, see F. W. Seymour, "Federal Favor for Fetishism," Missionary Review of the World, (new ser.) 58 (1935), pp. 397-400.

55. "We are cooperating with the States [having laws against Peyote] and doing what we can. It is a rather difficult matter to enforce even the State laws."—E. B. Meritt; in U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations 1928: 123.

56. Montana Supreme Court 1926.

57. Since the Oklahoma law was the first to be passed, it is worth quoting:

". . . it shall be unlawful for any person to introduce on any Indian reservation or Indian allotment situated within this Territory, or to have in possession, barter, sell, give, or otherwise dispose of, any 'Mescal Bean', or the product of any such drug, to any allotted Indian in this Territory. . . .

"Any person who shall violate the provisions of this Act in this Territory, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined in a sum not less than twenty-five dollars, nor more than two hundred dollars, or be confined in the county jail for not more than six months, or be assessed both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court."—Oklahoma, Session Laws, 1899, pp. 122-23.

The following was the occasion for the law:

"At the last session of the Territorial legislature I procured the passage of a law prohibiting medicine men from practicing their incantations among allotted Indians under penalty of fine and imprisonment. . . .

"The use of the mescal bean was also declared to be unlawful."
—Woodson 1899: 284.

58. "I have to report that Mr. Heins [i.e., G. O. Heim] narcotic bill failed of passage by the Oklahoma legislature. At my request Mr. Heins amended this bill after introduction by including therein mescal beans and cantharides. We would have had trouble on our hands even if the bill had come up for action, for the reason that the Indians, under the leadership of Quana [sic] Parker were preparing to fight the measure. In as much as the Indians have votes, the Legislators would be prone to listen attentively."—W. E. Johnson, "Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 27, 1909;" in U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Peyote Correspondence, Chief Special Officer, pt. 1c.

59. See "Indians Retain Their Right to Use Peyote Bean in Native Sacrament," Boston, Mass., Herald, April 14, 1927, p. 1, cols. 2-3.

CHAPTER VI

Section A

1. "I do not think this [Oklahoma] legislature should interfere with a man's religion; also these people should be allowed to retain this health restorer."—Quanah 1908a: 1.

"We have been taught that all men have the right to Worship their God in the manner and form most satisfactory to their own conscience."—Osage Peyotists 1912.

"We red people pray to our pale face friends for justice as a nation of America; for privileges and rights equal to citizens of U.S.A. . . .

"We understand that this a free country and the people of the U.S.A. have privilege of worshipping God any way they wish, provided they do it right. . . .

"It is just like any other religious service. White people have different names for their churches and the people are at liberty to join any church they wish. We all pray to the same God, creator of Heaven and earth. . . . We believe in this country all have their private rights in the worship of God."—Anonymous 1915: 1-4.

2. E. g., Hensley 1908. Kickapoo Peyotists 1909.

3. "The Indians, realizing the stand this office [of Indian Affairs] has taken [against Peyote], have submitted several petitions, praying that no action be taken whereby they will be deprived of the use of peyote, and they have sent delegations to Washington, whose sole mission was to present their point of view."—R. G. Valentine, "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 48; in U.S. Bur. Ind. Aff., Annual Report, 1912, pp. 5-72.

4. E. g., Keefe 1912.

5. James Mooney was the most important.

6. "The peyote societies are not stoically indifferent toward the agitation for legislation against peyote. There appear to be organizations in opposition to such a program, and they are very active in their propaganda for their constitutional rights. They have their paid attorneys to advise them and to represent them. They have their influential sponsors and they have their friends in Congress."—Newberne 1922: 24.

7. C. Wissler, ed., Societies of the Plains Indians (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 11), New York, American Museum of Natural History, 1912-16.

8. "I heard an educated Indian by the name of Hiram Chase, and he said in a meeting on Sunday morning, 'My friends, I am glad I can be here and worship this medicine (Peyote) with you, and we must organize a new church and have it run like the Mormon Church.'"—Semans 1911: 4.

9. "One or two quasi religious organizations of mescal bean eaters were organized."—Noble 1906: 321.

"A religious sect called the Mescal Bean Eaters has sprung up on the reservation."—Tate 1906: 269.

10. "The Sac and Fox get it from the Winnebagos."—Michelson 1915: 76, 78.

"I have found no evidence that any Indians were using it for their personal profit."—Johnson 1909d: 2.

"Peyote is invariably distributed among Indians by other Indians. One Indian may supply two or three reservations, or one congregation may get their supply from another congregation. The Indians apparently do not seek to make a profit on the sales of peyote among themselves."
—Newberne 1922: 32.

11. "Now we call our church the Union Church, instead of Mescal-eaters." Hensley; in Roddy 1909a: 282.

"Thomas Prescott of Wittemberg, Wisconsin, testified that there is a regularly organized association among the Indians called the Peyote Society, also known as the Union Church Society, of which he had been a priest for seven years."—U.S. District Court, Wisconsin 1914, as summarized in Safford 1915: 306.

"The board is on record against the use of peyote, but its attention has been called to the so-called Union Church of the Omahas, Osages, Caddos, and other tribes by members of those tribes who urged that an impartial investigation be made of peyote in relation to religion and worship as practised by the tribes in Oklahoma and Nebraska."—U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, Annual Report, 47 (1916), p. 9.

12. Unfortunately the first reference is ambiguous in regard to name:

". . . a society of this kind has been organized."—Green 1909a.

"Oliver Lemeer [i.e., Lamere] . . . is the treasurer of the Sacred Peyote Society, which is the name by which they call this Mescal religion or Peyote church."—Semans 1911: 3.

"Mescal Society among the Omaha Indians."—Keefe 1912: 1.

". . . the Peyote Society."—Sloan 1915: 83.

The document of Omaha Peyotists 1915 is in the name of the "Omaha Indian Peyote Society."

"A regular missionary propaganda, similar to that of the Mormon church, is carried on by the more established 'peyote lodges.'"—Pierson 1915: 206.

"I was a member of a peyote lodge, 1903 to 1914. . . . I was appointed as a president for peyote lodge."—Tebo 1917: 31.

"I am one of the delegates from the Cheyenne and Arapahoe country that was selected by the society, or Peyote boys as we know it."—Boynton 1918: 182.

"There are about eight hundred full-blooded Osage Indians. They are divided into a number of lodges, each lodge having its own place of worship and members, the same as the white man's church."—Osage Peyotists 1923a: 4.

13. E. Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," pp. 60-62; in M. W. Smith, ed., Indians of the Urban Northwest (New York, Columbia U. Press, 1949) pp. 37-76.

14. "Question: At the time you obtained the articles of incorporation in 1914, did you already know that the Indian Shaker Religion had incorporated earlier in Washington and Oregon ?

Answer: No I never heard from such people or Religion."—Koshiway 1955.

15. "We were having trouble way back as long as I could remember. So I thought they must be a way to defend our Religion. So [a] few leader[s] went to a lawyer. He helped us to write up articles of corp., so we get a charter. From the bible I got word—First Born church—Hebr. 12-23."—Koshiway 1955.

16. The name refers to "the general assembly and church of the firstborn."—Hebrews, 12.23.

17. ". . . the purposes for which this Corporation is formed are to give legal corporate entity to an association of persons having for their purpose and ideal the founding and establishment of a church organization embodying the conception found in the King James Version of the Holy Bible in Ephesians 4th Chapter vs. 5 and 6 as follows: One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism, One God and Father of all. And Hebrews 12th Chapter vs. 23, One Church of the First-born. And in Romans 2nd Chapter vs. 7, and One Hope for Glory and Honour and Immortality. And to promulgate the word of God—the Holy Bible—the only and sufficient rule of Faith and Practice. And to Evangelize and spread Scriptural Holiness over all lands and to all people. To practice and teach by word, thought, deed and example the pure, just, upright, sinless, transmutation into holiness and the Kingdom of righteousness which is the Kingdom of Peace which is the Kingdom of Christ, and to this end the creeds of the 'Dark Ages', the superstitions and practices of such creeds which misrepresents the Divine character and plan, and which enslave God's people in ignorance, sin and superstition are hereby renounced, and this Church joyfully recognize all who profess faith in Christ's redeeming love and are consecrated to his life and sacrifice even unto death with Him as our brethren in Him. And to especially promulgate religious training in the home from parent to child, as the divine plan for religious instruction. Also to practice ceremonies, rites, customs, usages and proceedings agreeable to our present Ritual and Book of Faith, and the practice and enjoyment of the same among the votaries of this religion, and also to form local societies, organizations or other Churches under the supervision of this general organization."—Firstborn Church of Christ 1914. The word "Peyote" does not appear anywhere in the document.

18. "The question which some of the delegates and tribes are debating is the matter of organizing their own native religion on a regular business basis, like any other church or society, as American citizens. Some of the northwestern Indians have already done this more than 20 years ago."—Mooney 1918b. His letter is dated "Mt. Scott, Oklahoma, July 29, 1918."

"At Cheyenne, a little town northwest of Calumet, Oklahoma, a group of Oto, Kiowa and Arapaho had an intertribal conference to decide upon measures of defense for peyotism. Jack [i.e., Jonathan

Koshiway] took the Oto charter to this conference and explained his solution of the problem. James Mooney at this, or at a later conference, was influential in persuading the assembly to adopt this method of organization, but many of the group apparently objected to the element of White religion implied in the title 'First-born Church of Christ' and rejected the name. The title ultimately chosen was the 'Native American Church,' which emphasized the intertribal solidarity of the cult, as well as its aboriginality."—La Barre 1938: 169.

19. "James Mooney . . . has advised and assisted the Indians in securing on October ten a charter for the organization of the peyote church . . . these are not rumors but were admitted by him to me on the nineteenth inst."—Stinchecum 1918. It was this telegram which led to the expulsion of Mooney from the Kiowa Reservation.

20. "The purpose for which this corporation is formed is to foster and promote the religious belief of the several tribes of Indians in the State of Oklahoma, in the Christian religion with the practice of the Peyote [sic] Sacrament as commonly understood and used among the adherents of this religion in the several tribes of Indians in the State of Oklahoma, and to teach the Christian religion with morality, sobriety, industry, kindly charity and right living and to cultivate a spirit of self-respect and brotherly union among the members of the Native Race of Indians including therein the various Indian tribes in the State of Oklahoma, with the right to own and hold property for the purpose of conducting its business or services."—Native American Church, Oklahoma 1918.

21. La Barre 1938: 118, 169-70.

22. "It is the purpose of this organization to establish one central body to be known as the Central Council of the Native American Church with Tribal Churches and Councils subject to the jurisdiction of the Central Council to be organized in each of the Indian Tribes or Tribal groups in the State of Oklahoma and affiliated churches in the United States."—Native American Church, Oklahoma 1934.

23. "Whereas, The 'human rights' of all citizens of our country are guaranteed and protected by amendment 1 to the Constitution of our Country, and

"Whereas, The Indians of the United States, we contend, are likewise protected by, and come within the meaning of and the protection of the Constitution, and

"Whereas, These members of the Indian Tribes of the United States belonging to the Native American Church, do by these presents declare and publish to the world that they too, in the exercise of their native religion, call upon all liberty loving people of our country for tolerance, and that they likewise too, declare their inherent right to protection in the free exercise of their religious beliefs and in the unmolested practice of the rituals thereof, under amendment 1 to the Constitution of the United States and in the further pursuance there-

of, do hereby propose the adoption of the following, to wit:

"1. That the National name of our Church of the United States.'

"2. That we as a people place explicit faith, hope and belief in Almighty God, and declare full, competent and everlasting faith in our church through which and by which we worship God.

"3. That as a people, we pledge our faith and our allegiance and our lives if need be, as we are now doing, to the protection of our now common Country, its institutions and the Constitution and Government thereof.

"4. That we further pledge ourselves to work in unity for, with and through the sacramental use of peyote and its religious use as such by 'The Native American Church of the United States' to the interest of and the cause of religion and the cause of our fellowmen, wherever they may be, and in allegiance to the Church to be chartered and recognized by the United States of America as follows:

"We, therefore, recommend that the original Articles of Incorporation of 'The Native American Church' and the amendments thereto, now on file in the office of the Secretary of States of the State of Oklahoma, be amended to carry out the purposes set forth in this preamble and we, the undersigned, being all of the officers and trustees of the aforesaid corporation, do by these presents amend the aforesaid original Articles and amendments thereto in the following particulars, to wit:

"AMENDED ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

"ARTICLE I.

"The name of this corporation shall be and remain 'The Native American Church of the United States.' (formerly 'Native American Church.')

"ARTICLE II.

"The purpose for which this corporation is formed is to foster and promote religious believers in Almighty God and the customs of the several Tribes of Indians throughout the United States in the worship of a Heavenly Father and to promote morality, sobriety, industry, charity, and the right living and cultivate a spirit of self-respect and brotherly love and union among the members of the several Tribes of Indians throughout the United States, with the right to own and hold property for the purpose of conducting its business or services.

"ARTICLE III.

"That the place where the principal business of the corporation is to be transacted is at El Reno, Oklahoma.

"ARTICLE IV.

"The number of trustees of the corporation shall be five, and until their successors are elected and qualified, shall consist of one member of said Church, for each Tribe throughout the United States belonging to or incorporated as a member of said Church.

"ARTICLE V.

"The said corporation shall consist of as many subdivisions as are Tribes represented in its membership and which said separate Tribe shall each in turn seek recognition in their respective States by applying for Charters in accordance with the laws of their respective States but that the name of the parent organization shall be 'The Native American Church of the United States.'"-Native American Church, Oklahoma 1944.

24. "The Native American Church of the United States" incorporated in Texas in 1946 was a clerical error; it should have been "The Native American Church of Texas."

Section B

1. "We use it in our meetings same as you white people worship God in your churches."—Black Dog 1908: 6.

"We worship the same God that you worship."—McCarthy 1918: 267.

2. ". . . we acted as Christian Indians."—Taylor, et al. 1907.

"Now these boys strive to be Christians; they strive to do the Christian ways."—Omaha Peyotists 1912: 8.

3. "They are divided into a number of lodges, each lodge having its own place of worship and members, the same as the white man's church."—Osage Peyotists 1923a: 4.

4. "We use this peyote in our religious ceremonies and it means the same to us as the reading of the Bible in the religious meetings of the white people—we use it in the worship of Our Father."—Kickapoo Peyotists 1909:1.

5. "We have been [in] trouble here at Clinton [Oklahoma because] of using a peyote. . . . You know all about what we [are] doing in the peyote tipi. We are pray just the same like white people."—Road 1907.

6. ". . . to us it is a portion of the body of Christ, even as the communion bread is believed to be a portion of Christ's body by other Christian denominations. . . .

"It is a part of God's body. God's Holy Spirit is enveloped in it."—Hensley 1908: 1-2. Cf. Wissler 1916: 869. McCarthy 1918: 267. Osage Peyotists 1918: 161. La Flesche 1918: 115.

7. S. Walker, "Statement", p. 2; in *Omaha Peyotists 1915.* Vruwink 1915. Sweezy 1918.

8. Hensley 1908: 1. Vruwink 1915. Montana Supreme Court 1926: 226. La Barre 1938: 164.

Section C

1. "I do think piote beans have helped Indians to quit drinking."
—Quanah 1908a: 1.

"It cures us of our temporal ills, as well as those of a spiritual nature. It takes away the desire for strong drink. I, myself, have been cured of a loathsome disease, too horrible to mention. So have hundreds of others. Hundreds of confirmed drunkards have been dragged from their downward way."—Hensley 1908: 2.

2. "Having read in someof the state newspapers that you are about to investigate 'Mescal' and its uses by Indians I wish to do everything that lies in my power to assist you in this investigation."
—Hensley 1908: 1. Cf. J. Collier 1947: 239.

"We red people pray and ask the authorities if an investigation should arise, to have some good, honest, man to investigate and do justice to us, and if any wrong be found with our religious meetings we will gladly discontinue them; but not just because a few people say so."—Anonymous 1915: 3.

CHAPTER VII

1. ". . . in the mystic state, God is not satisfied merely to help us to think of Him and to remind us of His presence: He gives us an experimental, intellectual knowledge of this presence . . . in the mystic union the soul . . . has an experimental knowledge, analogous to that of the senses which do not reason; the soul, then, perceives; she does not conclude."—A. Poulain, The Graces of Interior Prayer, tr. L. L. Yorke Smith (London, Kegan Paul, 1910), pp. 64-67.

2. E. Underhill, Mysticism, New York, Dutton, 1948, 16th ed.

APPENDIX

1. Satisfactory documentation on John Wilson has been difficult to obtain. The following are the most important data I have been able to locate:

"John Wilson

Age: 56

Wife: Mary Washington

[Added later:] Killed at Fitzpatrick ranch."—Register of Indian Families [1900?] (MS, Anadarko, Oklahoma, Kiowa Agency), Wichita & Caddo, family no. 163, line no. 279.

"John Wilson
died

Apr. 16, 1901"—Gravestone in graveyard on Pete Clabber allotment, Quapaw, Oklahoma.

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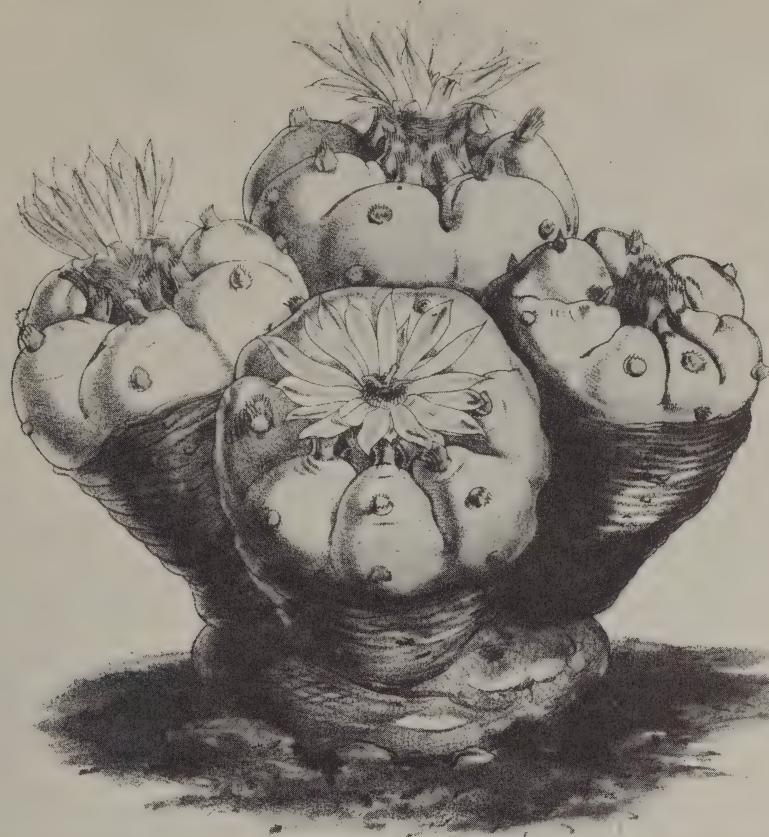


Plate 1. The Earliest Illustration of Peyote.

(From: W. J. Hooker, "Echinocactus williamsii," Curtis's Botanical Magazine, 73 (1847), tab. 4296.)

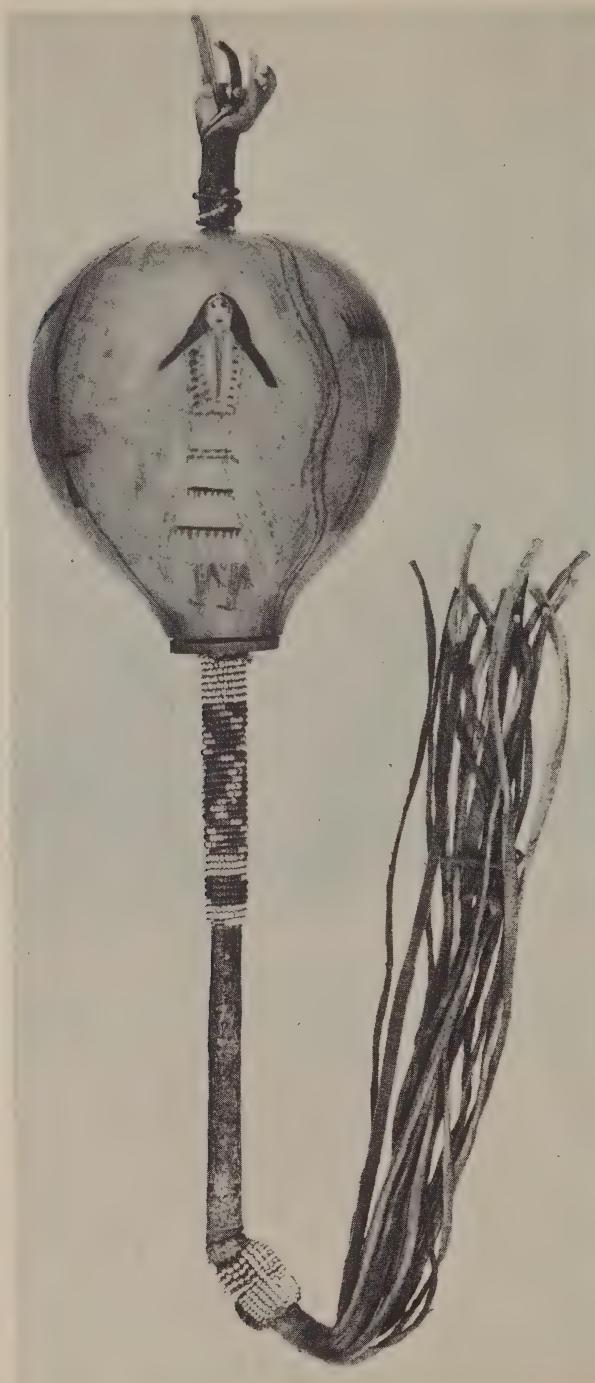


Plate 2. Peyote Woman (?) on a Kiowa Peyote Rattle Collected by James Mooney in 1891.

(Photograph courtesy of the United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington).



Plate 3. A Peyote Tipi, Constructed by Mr. and Mrs. Reuben H. De Roin (Oto and Shawnee),—Morrison, Oklahoma, 1955.



Plate 4. Picture of Kickapoo Peyote Ceremony, by Ernest Spybuck (Shawnee), ca. 1913.

(Photograph courtesy of The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York).



Plate 5. Picture of Peyote Ceremony, by Carl Sweezy (Southern Arapaho), date unknown. (The woman is bringing in the morning water.)
(Photograph from The University of Oklahoma Library, Norman).



Plate 6. Kickapoo Washing of Hands and Face after Leaving Tipi in Morning, by Ernest Spybuck (Shawnee), ca. 1913.

(Photograph courtesy of The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York).



Plate 7. Some International Officers of the Native American Church at a Business Meeting, Macy, Nebraska, 1955. (Left to right: Slotkin, Williams, Springer, Dale, De Roin.)

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